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ON

THE VERNON DANTE

WITH OTHER DISSERTATIONS

BY

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TO THE STUDY OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA"
ETC. ETC. ETC.

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THE VERNON DANTE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE LITERARY WORKS OF GEORGE JOHN WARREN, LORD VERNON.

In the course of the past year was published in London, in the Italian language, a work on the Divina Commedia of Dante Allighieri, which, for utility of purpose, comprehensiveness of design, and costly execution, has never been equalled in any country. It did not contain the whole of the sacred poem, nor did it entirely fulfil the intention of its noble projector, but such as it came forth after long years of preparation, and after experiencing many vicissitudes, it might justly be regarded as the grandest and most magnificent literary monument ever raised to the memory of the Poet.

It was in three ponderous folio volumes, and the labours of many of the most distinguished artists and men of letters in Italy had been engaged upon it for upwards of twenty years. Yet, important as it was in a literary point of view, and so honourable to this country as the munificent production of an English student of the Divina Commedia desirous to benefit and assist other students, who, like himself, earnestly set about mastering its marvellous contents, and forming as it did an epoch in the history of Dante Literature, very little notice was taken of it in our periodical publications, no adequate account of it was furnished by reviewers, editors fought shy of it, and the general reading public heard scarcely anything about it. This may partly be explained by

the circumstance that the work had been privately printed, and the book-trade was excluded from having anything to do with it. It was intended for the public libraries of Europe, where students of all countries might have access to it, for the personal friends of the Author, and for the private libraries of those devoted admirers and followers of Dante who, like the noble Lord with whom it originated, seek no other reward for their literary labours than the satisfaction of promoting the study of their Master's divine poem, and reaping the approval of a good conscience in thus honouring his memory.

The Author, George John Warren, Lord Vernon, had long been distinguished in Europe as the Mæcenas of Dante Literature. For years he had lived in Florence amid the cherished scenes of the Poet's early life and hopes, surrounded by a literary circle whose congenial studies and pursuits mutually aided the advancement of his own. The first work printed by him showed the course he intended to pursue:

I primi sette canti dell' Inferno di Dante Alighieri disposti in ordine grammaticale. Firenze 1842*.

This was the harbinger, though at a long interval, of Lord Vernon's recently completed work, and a sample, in part, of what it was intended to be. It was followed by:

Petri Allegherii super Dantis ipsius genitoris Comoediam Commentarium, etc. Florentiae. 1846.

The book, consisting of more than 950 pages, was edited by Vincenzio Nannucci, and dedicated to an illustrious Camaldolese, to whom Lord Vernon felt indebted for the courteous reception accorded him by Pope Gregory XVI, in the previous year, and for the encouragement he had received to continue his Dante labours. Other works appeared in succession.

Chiose sopra Dante. Firenze 1846.

This publication, commonly called *il falso Boccaccio,* was dedicated to Sir. T. G. S. Sebright Bart., from whom Lord Vernon had obtained the first notice of it. Two years later appeared a more important production:

* This is the title and date given in the memoir of Lord Vernon by Sir James Lacaita, but a copy in my own library has the date 1841 with a somewhat different title — *Dante Inferno secondo il testo di B. Lombardi con ordine e schiarimento per uso dei forestieri di L. V.* This copy, which was bought at a stall under the Ufizi in 1851, contains corrections and alterations in the handwriting of Prof. Nannucci.

Chiose alla Cantica dell' Inferno di Dante Allighieri attribuite a Jacopo suo figlio, etc. Firenze 1848.

It was dedicated to Seymour Kirkup*, to whom Dantophilists are so much indebted for the discovery of Dante's portrait, rightly attributed to Giotto, and for the rescue of his house from utter oblivion.

A month later was published a larger commentary by an anonymous author of the first half of the 14th. cent.:

Comento alla Cantica di Dante Allighieri di Autore anonimo, etc. Firenze. 1848.

It was dedicated to three literary friends, Vincenzio Nannucci, Brunone Bianchi, and Pietro Fraticelli.

Touching these two works, both printed from codici which had become the property of Lord Vernon, a controversy of some interest arose between his librarian Stephen Audin, who edited it, and Colomb de Batines, the eminent Dante bibliographer, who ascribed the second to Jacopo, and regarded the first as anonymous. But be that as it might, both were agreed that the second was the oldest commentary on the Inferno extant, and probably composed about 1328; an opinion subsequently confirmed by the erudite Dantophilist, the Avv. Jacopo Ferrari of Reggio. Ten years later appeared that splendid volume in folio, of nearly eight hundred pages, entitled:

Le prime quattro edizioni della Divina Commedia letteralmente ristampate per cura di G. G. Warren Lord Vernon. Londra, Boone, 1858. **

It contained facsimiles of the originals, and was dedicated to the Accademia della Crusca, of which learned Italian society Lord Vernon had been made a *Socio corrispondente* in 1847. It was the most precious gift which his generosity had hitherto conferred on the students of Dante, and was very carefully edited by the illustrious chief of our great national Museum Library, Sir Antonio Panizzi, who, vying with Lord Vernon in zeal for the Poet, took upon himself the onerous responsibility of conducting the work through the press. In no other country could it have been produced, for no other library in the world possesses copies of the four originals.

Lord Vernon had also intended to print the Latin commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, but scarcely had the

* "*Per V. anni collaboratore con me negli studii Danteschi*". see Dedication.

** It was printed by Charles Whittingham, and was reviewed in the Athenæum for April 23. 1859.

first few sheets passed through the press, when illness obliged him to relinquish his design. *

Lord Vernon was a *socio* of various literary societies, and a member of the Royal Commission for the publication of the *Testi di lingua* in the provinces of Emilia. He was also created a Cavalier of the Maurizian Order, shortly after the great commemoration in honour of Dante held in Florence in May 1865, a national festival which the state of Lord Vernon's health, to his deep disappointment and grief, prevented him from attending. He was much missed on that occasion, and his absence was felt to be indeed a loss. On the last day of the May following, in the Baronial mansion of the family, Sudbury Hall, Derbyshire, Lord Vernon closed his eyes in peace, aged sixty-three. He was not, like Copernicus, permitted to see the termination of his great work, but filial piety performed what Fate to him had denied. Lord Vernon's publications constitute an abiding claim on the gratitude of all students of the Divina Commedia.

CHAPTER I.

NOTICE OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF LORD VERNON'S GREAT WORK.

Dedication. Extracts from the Author's address to the reader. Motive for publication. Notice of friends. Varianti and remarks on them. The grammatical ordo. The Notes. Indices, etc. to the first volume.

The title of the first volume of Lord Vernon's great work is as follows:

L'Inferno di Dante Alighieri disposto in ordine grammaticale e corredato di brevi dichiarazioni da G. G. Warren Lord Vernon, accademico corrispondente della Crusca.

Londra per Tommaso e Guglielmo Boone, 1858. **

After the title is the following affectionate dedication to the memory of the first Lady Vernon —

* Lord Vernon also published *un romanzo cavalleresco,* entitled "*Febùs e Breùs*".

** The three volumes are printed on *carta imperiale* by Baracchi and Son of Florence, the successors of Piatti in the printing establishment at Prato.

Questa edizione illustrata dell'Inferno di Dante Alighieri destinava come pegno di affezione e di rispetto a mia Moglie Isabella Carolina Lady Vernon, senza il cui conforto non l'avrei mai condotta a termine, Iddio avendo chiamato a se quella ottima donna, non mi rimane che offrire questo tributo alla sua memoria.

Londra 1. Agosto 1857. *Vernon.*

This volume contains, in five hundred and forty-two pages, the text of the "Inferno" with a grammatical *ordo*, brief explanations of words, persons, and places, and a series of extremely useful analytical tables of the allegory as expounded by commentators ancient and modern.

The dedication is followed by an address to the reader from which we learn the object and scope of Lord Vernon's literary labours. He says — "In my studies of the Divina Commedia, although assisted by the best commentators, not a few nor trifling difficulties presented themselves, to remove which much labour was necessary. Thinking now that the same difficulties might occur to other strangers, who, like myself, are no great proficients in the Italian language, I have resolved to dedicate my labours to them such as they are". This, however, was written many years previously, for the same words, or nearly so, occur in the introduction to the first work Lord Vernon printed in 1841. From that time to the close of his life he carried out with persevering zeal and princely liberality his resolution to devote his time and fortune to the advancement and cultivation of Dante Literature. In his address, however, the Author remarks that he desires it may be distinctly understood that he does not presume to teach Dante to the Italians, but if by chance any one *del bel paese* should find himself assisted by this work in gathering the sentiment of any passage hitherto but imperfectly understood, he can only exclaim with the count Leopardi, in his preface to the "Canzoniere" of Petrarca, *ex ore infantium et lactentium*, or some other ejaculation to the same purport.

In reference to the various senses intended by the Poet, as stated in his letter to Can Grande of Verona, Lord Vernon observes, "A scrupulous interpreter, after having given the literal sense, cannot neglect the allegorical, but it would seem that the greater number of commentators explain the text as if Dante had said that it was *anfisenso* instead of *polisenso*, and after having given, as they were bound to do, the literal interpretation, proceed to explain the allegory *exclusively in one sense*, either theo-

logical, or moral, or philosophical, or political, each one according to his own inclination or favourite study". Into these various senses the Author tells us he does not mean to enter, but only to furnish a few hints of them, the size and scope of his work not admitting of more, and a diffidence in his own ability withholding him from any attempt to penetrate that *selva oscura* in which so many learned men have gone astray and lost themselves. Of Dante's sincerity and true christian principles Lord Vernon very justly says — "I do not hold at all with those who pretend that under the mask of philosophy, or political partisanship, Dante has intended to make war on religion, being convinced that he was a good Christian, and, so far as I know, a good Catholic also". Dante was eminently both. "Those also", the Author adds, "fall into error who accuse the poet of having little love for his country. He desired an Emperor, not an autocrat, but a rightful Lord, a successor of the Cæsars, the legal head of the state, hoping and trusting that through him Italy would attain unity, power and peace, and would again become the Queen of nations". It was characteristic of the late Lord Vernon to speak lightly of his own literary acquirements, no less than of his liberality, whenever these were alluded to. He had a singular disposition to underrate his own acts and deeds, and a habit of treating as unworthy of notice what the world regarded as exceptional cases of kindness, munificence, and generosity. Yet no one was more sensitive than himself to any attention received or kindness offered, which he always repaid a hundredfold in his own meek and unostentatious manner. The present work bears evidence of this in the grateful allusions to those literary friends who had assisted him in it, and who in 1858, when the first volume was printed, were then no more, as Mariano Armellini, his much esteemed Italian master, to whom, in a note, he modestly attributes what little he knew of the language; Stephen Audin; and Vincenzio Nannuci, for whom he had a great regard, and considered him as *quasi il Varrone* of Italian literature. * Among Lord Vernon's intimate friends at Florence were the eminent Dantophilists Brunone Bianchi and Pietro Fraticelli; also Giuseppe Ca-

* Professor Nannucci was born in 1787, at *Colle a Segna*, about seven miles from Florence. In 1837—39 he printed his *Manuale del primo secolo della lingua Italiana;* a second edition of which appeared in 1858, a year after his death, which he had dedicated to Lord Vernon *in segno di animo riconoscente.*

nestrini, the Cav. Giuseppe Antinori, the Cav. Francesco Bonaini, Giunio Carbone, and others, who are especially named by the Author in reference to the second volume. Sir Antonio Panizzi also comes in for a deserved share of praise. The merits of our countryman Mr. Kirkup, who had for years been Lord Vernon's fellow-labourer in this work, are made manifest in the third volume.

The remarks of Giacomo Leopardi in his preface to the "Canzoniere"; and those of Cesare Balbo in his Life of Dante, in reference to works on the Divina Commedia, were thought so applicable to the purpose of Lord Vernon that they are given *in extenso* after the address to the reader. The Cosmography of the Poet, a description of the Infernal circles, a notice of the time occupied in passing through them, and an epitome of the Cantos follow. The text is that of the Paduan edition of 1822, with some few variations taken from the *volgata*, from the Codice Claricini in the library of Cividale del Friuli (Batines, Bib. Dant. Tom. II., p. 160), and from other codici and approved editions. The following are among the readings adopted:

Di quella fera *alla* gaietta pelle:
Sì che parea che l'aer ne *tremesse:*
E durerà quanto il *mondo* lontana:
Come l'arena quando *il turbo* spira:
Che è *porta* della fede che tu credi:
Che *per* amore al fine combatteo:
Or vo' che *tu* mia sentenza ne imbocche:
Ruine, incendj, e *tollette* dannose:
Cose che *daran* fede al mio sermone:
E chinando la *mia* alla sua faccia:
Di quei che sì *pingeva* con la zanca:
Che al Re *Giovane* diedi i mai conforti:
Gocciar *giù* per le labbra, e 'l gelo strinse:
Più *lune* già, quand' i' feci 'l mal sonno:

The readings generally agree with those of the late Brunone Bianchi (1854), but not in all cases, as the above selection will show, where we have *tremesse* for "temesse", *per amore* for "con amore", *tollette* for "collette", *daran* for "torrien", *giù* for "su". In a series of parallel columns succeeding the Cantica, these variations are collected and contrasted with those of the Paduan text, and reasons are given for their adoption.

Many of the variations met with in codici date, no doubt, from the days of Dante himself. It is well known

that the Poet occupied years and years in correcting and polishing what he wrote; like all great masters he was most painstaking in the work to which he had given his heart and soul, and that was to make him throughout all future ages the glory of the Italian name.

It cannot be said of two readings nearly approaching each other, and expressing only different shades of the same meaning, that one must be right and the other wrong, for both may be genuine, both written by the Poet, and equally worthy of him. The question here for the critic to determine is which preceded the other, and in what manner the second modified the first. Other variations are found in which the sense they express is so different that both cannot be regarded as authentic. And a third or intermediate class occurs where the sense remaining the same in kind is so altered in degree that though both may be authentic, yet one is much better than the other. To the first class belong *la* and *alla*, Inf. I., 42; *temesse* and *tremesse*, 48; *il turbo* and *al turbo*, Inf. III., 30; *con amore* and *per amore*, Inf. V., 66; *tutti* and *tu*, Inf. VII., 72; *collette* and *tollette*, Inf. XI., 36; *su* and *giù*, Inf. XXXII., 47. To the second class belong *la mano* and *la mia* (faccia), Inf. XV., 29; *piangeva* and *pingeva*, Inf. XIX., 45; *Giovanni* and *Giovane*, Inf. XXVIII., 135; *lume* and *lune*, Inf. XXXIII., 26. A still better illustration of this class is found in the reading of Inf. V., 102, *modo* and *mondo*, but the latter had not been established when Lord Vernon wrote. The readings *moto* and *mondo*, Inf. II., 60; *porta* and *parte*, Inf. IV., 36; *torrien* and *daran*, Inf. XIII., 21, belong to the third class. The variante lately found in a Codice of the British Museum Library, Parad. XXXIII., 141, *tenne* for *venne*, though it alters the usual explanation of commentators, may also be considered as of this class. The selection of a reading must here depend upon knowledge, and that penetration into the Poet's mind and character which nothing but a perpetual study of his works can impart.

Dante, in his youth, sought to conceal his application to literary and scientific studies by a gay demeanour and by joining in all the sports and pastimes befitting his age and quality. It is probable that he equally concealed from others the first rudimentary elements of his poetry, not choosing that anything of his should be seen and known that was not perfect. But be this as it may, the Divina Commedia reads as if it had all been struck out at once by some superhuman process, and not produced

by the gradual growth of intense thought continued through many years. Every thing however in Dante's hand has perished, from the first fragments of his compositions, if any such there were, in which his thoughts were linked together in written characters, to those more perfect transcripts of his poetry, the copies of the cantos which he made in his own neat and elegant writing, as Leonardo Aretino describes it, and sent to his literary patrons, and we shall now never know from the Poet's own autograph what he did write and what he did not.

The grammatical *ordo* is one of the most remarkable features of this first volume; it is a laborious and conscientious developement and verbal exposition of the text, more complete than that given by Gabriele Rossetti (Londra. 1826), and not a mere paraphrase like that of the Conte Trissino (Vicenza. 1857). The original words are all preserved, and so are the parts of words, the particles; omissions are filled up in *corsivo*, and where it was thought useful, other more familiar words are inserted in the same character to explain the original ones. The primitive meanings of the more obsolete, and their analysis, are added in notes. Lord Vernon remarks that this interpretation is different in manner to any other with which he is acquainted. We must remember that it was made chiefly for the use of *forestieri;* class teachers of the poem, who have to expound it to students not well up in the language, will find it very suggestive and an excellent example to follow. One or two specimens will suffice for illustration, and may be taken anywhere, for the work is equally good throughout. The following has sometimes rather puzzled beginners; Inf. XVIII., 7—13.

Quel cinghio che rimane adunque è tondo
  Tra 'l pozzo e 'l piè dell'alta ripa dura,
  Ed ha distinto in dieci valli il fondo.
Quale, dove per guardia delle mura
  Più e più fossi cingon li castelli,
  La parte dov'ei son rende figura;
Tale imagine quivi facean quelli.

"Adunque quel cinghio — *area circolare* — che rimane tra *il* pozzo e *il* pie*de* dell'alta *e* dura — *petrosa* — ripa è tondo, ed ha il *suo* fondo distinto — *spartito* — in dieci valli (1). Quale, dove per guardia — *per difesa* — delle mura più e più fossi cingono — *circondano* — li castelli, *quale, dico, è la* figura — *forma — che* rende — *presenta allo sguardo* — la parte dove

eglino — *cioè quei fossi* — sono; *una* tale *im*magine quivi — *in quel luogo* — facevano — *presentavano* — quelli *valli.*

(1) Dal lat. *vallum*, luogo chiuso da argini o bastioni.

By some, perhaps, this rendering may be thought rather overcharged, but the Author tells us he preferred being censured for too great diligence rather than for too little.

Dante had a perfect knowledge of the physical geography of Italy, and has embodied it in his immortal poem. Mountains and rivers outlive cities and towns, and the Poet has generally chosen the former to indicate the positions of the latter, which he rarely names; this principle applies also to the boundaries of provinces and countries.

In the sixteenth canto of the Inferno, verses 94 to 102, we have an example of his intimate acquaintance with the river system of northern Italy. The passage has given some embarrassment to copyists, and I shall therefore select it as a second illustration of Lord Vernon's grammatical *ordo.*

Come quel fiume, c'ha proprio cammino
Prima da monte Veso invêr levante
Dalla sinistra costa d'Apennino,
Che si chiama Acquacheta suso, avante
Che si divalli giù nel basso letto,
Ed a Forlì di quel nome è vacante,
Rimbomba là sovra San Benedetto
Dall'alpe, per cadere ad una scesa,
Ove dovria per mille esser ricetto;
Così, etc.

"Come quel fiume — *il Montone* —, *che* — *il quale* — ha *suo* proprio cammino *(perchè non si unisce con altri fiumi) discendendo* prima da monte Veso inverso *il* levante dalla sinistra costa *della catena* di Apennino, che — *il qual fiume* — si chiama Acquacheta suso — *nella prima parte del suo corso* —, avante — *avanti, prima* — che si divalli — *caschi nella valle, si precipiti* — giù nel basso letto, e *quando è giunto* a Forlì, *vi* è vacante — *mancante* — di quel nome — *cioè ha cambiato il nome di Acquacheta in quello di Montone* — *questo fiume* rimbomba là — *in quel luogo* — sovra — *sopra* — *il Monastero di* San Benedetto per *il* cadere — *la caduta* — *che fa* dall' alpe ad — *in* — una scesa, *d*ove dovria — *dovrebbe* — essere ricetto — *ricettacolo* — per mille *persone, per le*

grandi rendite che possiede: come rimbomba il Montone, così, etc.

Many even of the more experienced students of the poem will find that Lord Vernon has opened up to them a fullness of Dante's meaning, and a precision of language, of which, perhaps, they may not before have been thoroughly aware, and therefore could not duly appreciate the archaic beauty of the Poet's expressions and the amount of thought contained in his brief words.

The notes are historical and literary, brief, and much to the purpose, and show an intimate acquaintance with the literature of the period. It was the opinion of Count Leopardi that very few even of the Italian *letterati* could understand Petrarca without some explanation, and the account which he gives of his mode of rendering the Poet readable is quoted by Lord Vernon as applicable to his own method in explaining Dante. "Sometimes I follow one commentator, sometimes another, often none at all, but always my own opinion. I never skip over any difficulty, though all before me have done so. The historical notes necessary for well understanding the text I give compendiously but clearly". Lord Vernon says — "Not desiring to please myself but to benefit others, I have woven together from all the commentators, ancient and modern, words, phrases, locutions, thoughts, every thing in fact that could assist me in throwing light on the conceptions of the Poet; nor have I omitted to add something of my own". Cesare Balbo in his life of Dante states that Alfieri had been heard to say, at the beginning of the present century there were scarcely thirty persons in all Italy who had read the Divina Commedia, and now, adds Balbo, writing in 1839, "we have more than seventy editions". Alfieri himself was among the "thirty", his copy of the poem preserved in the Library-Museum at Montpelier attesting that he was an enthusiastic reader and admirer of Dante, some passages having many lines drawn beneath them. *

The volume concludes with an index of proper names and of the principal subjects, together with a chronological series of the various editions, including translations and commentaries, and special remarks on particular passages,

* The able editor of Lord Vernon's work, Sir James Lacaita, gives in a foot note in the second volume an instance how Italians deceive themselves in pretending to read and understand Dante. A lady of his acquaintance assured him that she had not found it at all difficult. My *lavandaja* at Pisa once said the same thing.

amounting in all to three hundred and ninety four up to the year 1850. Topographical and typographical indices follow, in which places and printers names are equally honoured; finally there is a list of all those who up to 1850 had translated the poem or written upon it.

CHAPTER II.

SECOND VOLUME OF LORD VERNON'S GREAT WORK.

Life of Dante Allighieri. His ancestors as noticed by Pelli and others. The Elisei. Cacciaguida. Geri del Bello. Dante's mother, Donna Bella. Dante's marriage. Different statements of Authors as to the number and names of his children. Descendants of Dante. Union of the Allighieri and Sereghi families. Notices of Dante's early life. Beatrice. Dante's priorato. His exile. Dante's love for his wife and family. His first *refugio*.

No more valuable addition to the Literature of Dante and his age could have been given to the world than is contained in the second volume of Lord Vernon's great work. Yet how modestly he mentions it. — "In the second volume will be found brought together not a few writings, documents, and tracts, which illustrate the biography and circumstances of the Poet, the history of his time, and of the personages mentioned in the cantica. The greater part of these writings, which, if they have no other merit, at least possess that of novelty, are the productions of various Italian Letterati, who, from the friendship they profess for me, and at my request, have kindly furnished me with these works for the embellishment of my own".

The six hundred and twelve pages of which this volume consists contain a veritable encyclopædia of history, geography, topography, biography, and heraldry, relating to Dante's era, which alone would have entitled Lord Vernon to the everlasting gratitude of Dante scholars. The volume bears the same general title as the first, with the addition "*Documenti*", and its date is 1862. It is illustrated by maps, plans, and engravings of arms and shields. The first article is entitled:

Memorie intorno la vita di Dante Alighieri tratte da' suoi Biografi antichi e moderni.

It is preceded by the — *Albero della famiglia Alighieri, tratto dal Pelli, e colle aggiunte del Litta.* — This genealogical table is supplemented, in the third volume, with another by Luigi Passarini, giving an account of Dante's posterity and the descendants of Eliseo. In the life of Dante, Leonardo Aretino is regarded as the normal authority, to which Boccaccio, Cinelli, and other biographers are subordinate. Of the first named of Cacciaguida's two brothers,

Moronto fu mio frate ed Eliseo,

nothing whatever is known. Eliseo was an elder brother, and the house of Cacciaguida passed to his descendants and retained their name. It was situated at the corner of the Porta San Piero, where that street was entered from the Mercato Vecchio. The residence of the Allighieri, who were the lineal descendants of Cacciaguida, was in the Piazza behind the church of S. Martino del Vescovado, now Chiesa de'Buonomini; one front faced the street leading to the houses of the Sacchetti, the other was in the street leading to the houses of the Donati and the Giuochi. The foundations of these houses of the Allighieri have recently been identified, and it is the intention of the Municipality of Florence to have them restored. There was a general impression among the early biographers of Dante, following his own statement of his family being of Roman origin, that the Elisei, from whom Cacciaguida was descended, were related to the Frangipani of Rome, and Filippo Villani in his life of Dante goes so far as to assign the occasion of this name having been given to one of his ancestors. There is, however, no positive historical evidence to show the connexion. The Poet was proud of his real or supposed Roman origin, but did not care to carry his pedigree farther back than the fourth generation,

Basti de' miei maggiori udirne questo.

The family of the Elisei were very ancient citizens of Florence, and had participated in the highest honours of the Republic. When the Emperor Henry II., who succeeded to the empire in 1002, came to Florence in 1019, among the other magnates deputed to attend him was a member of the Elisei family.

Cacciaguida, born about 1106, d. 1147, left two sons, Preitenitto and Allighiero, both of whom are named in a document of December 9th., 1189. Allighiero I., the great-grandfather of Dante, was a proud man, and long detained in purgatory for this impenitence (Parad. XV., 91—3).

He had two sons, Messer Bello and Bellincione, though many think that a Cacciaguida ought to occupy the place of the latter, and that Bellincione was only Dante's great uncle*. One of the four sons of Messer Bello was that *Geri del Bello* whose discontented shade menaced the Poet because his murder by a Sacchetti had not been avenged. (Inf. XXIX., 19—36). Subsequently a nephew appeased the injured soul by killing a Sacchetti at the door of his own house. When the Duke of Athens ruled in Florence he insisted on the two houses, the Allighieri and the Sacchetti, signing a treaty of peace, which they did, October 10th. 1342, and Francesco, Dante's brother, put his name to it. Allighiero II., the son of Bellincione, had two brothers, Gherardo living in 1277, and Brunetto, who, in the sesto di S. Piero, was chosen in the same year as one of the champions to accompany the Carroccio of the Florentines in the war of Montaperti against the Ghibellines. He had a son, named Cione, living in 1306. Dante's father, who was dead in 1283, was twice married; his first wife was Donna Lupa, or Lapa, di Chiarissimo Cialuffi; his second wife was Donna Bella, whose family is uncertain, by her he had three children, a daughter, name unknown, who married Leone Poggi, *Durante*, abbreviated to *Dante*, and Francesco, who married Piera di Donato. A fourth child, Antonia, married to Lapo di Riccomanno, has also been assigned to him. In the additional notice of Dante's family by Luigi Passerini, it is conjectured that Donna Bella was the first wife of Allighiero II., and that Francesco was born of his second wife Madonna Lapa. Passerini's chief reasons for this are that Francesco is always put after Dante when the two names occur together, and survived him many years. He also thinks that he has discovered Dante's mother, Donna Bella, to have been a daughter of messer Durante di messer Scolaio degli Abbati. It was very usual, he

* Following a statement of Cosimo della Rena in the introduction to his history of "de' Marchesi di Toscana", it has been thought by some that of the two sons of Allighiero II., Bellincione and Bello, the second was the grandfather of Dante. But the authority of Pelli may be considered decisive, his words are "D'Allighiero nacque Bellincione e messer Bello. Il primo fu l'avo di Dante, quantunque da altri sia stato creduto diversamente, e si trove nominato nelle vecchie carte fino nell'anno 1266". In the "Genealogia", printed in the work entitled "Della casa di Dante", 1865, we read under Bellincione 1251—69, "le sue notizie sono spesso confuse coll'altre del fratello", and so in this table. Geri del Bello was first cousin to Dante's father, and this is well shown by Lord Vernon.

says, to name sons after the name of the maternal grandfather, the family of the Abbati lived near, and in some of Dante's obligations their names occur as sureties. According to Passerini, Francesco had two sisters, one named Tana, who became the wife of Lapo di Riccomanno, and another, whose name he does not recollect. After Dante's death Francesco had a long litigation with his nephews Peter and James about the division of the family property, which ended by a compromise, May 16th. 1332.

In 1291 Dante married Gemma di Manetto di Donato, and had by her a numerous family. In the "Genealogia", printed in the work entitled "Della casa di Dante", 1865, five children only are named —

Pietro or Piero, Beatrice, Jacopo, Gabbriello, and Antonia.

Pelli names seven,

Eliseo, Aligero (*sic*), Gabbriello, Pietro, Beatrice, Bernardo, and Jacopo.

In Lord Vernon's table there are eight, the above seven, and a second daughter, name unknown, married to Pantelioni. All sons and daughters with unknown names may be looked upon as suspicious characters and treated as apocryphal. But possibly this nameless maiden was Antonia, living in 1332, if there really was such a person. Eliseo died an infant, and so did Allighiero. If Maria Filelfo can be believed, the former died at eight years of age, cut off by a pestilence, the latter at twelve. Of Gabbriello nothing is known; a son of that name is set down in Lord Vernon's table to Bernardo as living in 1351.

Possibly the second daughter of Dante may be *Imperia*, so named in the *tavola*, published by Pietro di Serego-Allighieri, * the present representative of the united families Allighieri and Sereghi. This genealogy, emanating from so intimate a source, may perhaps be considered as the most correct of any, and here only six children are given to the Poet.

Eliseo, Allighiero, Jacopo, Pietro, Imperia, and Beatrice.

Beatrice was living as a nun in the convent of S. Stefano dell'Uliva at Ravenna in 1350. Pietro accompanied his father in his latter days; studied law at Siena and Bologna, where he took the degree of Doctor; was at Ra-

* "Dei Seratico e dei Serego-Allighieri cenni storici. Torino 1865. Passarini says that *Imperia* became the wife of Tano di Bencivenni Pantaleoni.

venna with his father, on whose death he went to live at Verona, where he exercised the office of Judge of the Comune, and in 1361 was Vicario of the college of judges. He died at Treviso, April 21st 1364, and was buried in the church of Santa Margherita. The Latin commentary on the Divina Commedia which goes under his name, and was printed by Lord Vernon, is of very doubtful authenticity: it seems more like the work of a religious recluse than that of a lawyer and man of the world. Pietro has the reputation of having cultivated poetry, but the *capitolo* on Dante's poem which has sometimes been ascribed to him is more probably the work of his brother Jacopo. Pietro di Dante left a numerous family, whose descendants, passing in a direct line through Dante II. (d. 1428), Leonardo (d. 1459), Pietro II. (d. 1476), Dante III. (d. 1510), and Pietro III., living in 1539, ended in a daughter, Ginevra, who, in 1549, married the Count Antonio Serego of Verona. Thus the two families of the Allighieri and the Sereghi became united, and their posterity have descended in a prolific progeny to the present day. Dante IV. was born September 7th. 1843, and was living in 1865, when his father became a patrician of Florence.

It was Leonardo, the son of Dante II., who, when a youth, paid a visit to Florence and made the acquaintance of Leonardo Aretino. Of all the descendants of Peter one only was a recognized poet, Dante III., podestà of Peschiera in 1498, whose fortunes, or misfortunes, have been differently related. According to the usual account he left Verona disgusted at its falling into the hands of the imperialists by the league of Cambray, and went to Mantua where he died in great poverty in 1510. A touching story is told of his misfortunes by *Piero Valeriano* (Giovan - Pietro Bolzani) in his book *De infelicitate Litteratorum*, in which he is made to reflect the exile sufferings of his great ancestor Dante I.; but it would seem this is a made up story, and that he went to Florence instead, was well received by the Republic, and died there in good circumstances in November 1515. Jacopo the second son of Dante, whom Passerini regarded as the eldest, was at Ravenna with his father. In 1326 he took holy orders; in 1332 was in Florence; in 1341, according to the same authority, he was canon of the church of S. Georgio in the diocese of Verona; about 1346 he left the church and married Jacopa di Biliotto degli Alfani — in Lord Vernon's table, however, his wife

is named Teresa, — after that he resided at Florence, and died about 1360, leaving two sons Bernardo (so Passerini) and Allighiero, also a daughter Allighiera, who was twice married, and died 1430. Jacopo was a poet and wrote the *Dottrinale* *; also a capitolo in terza rima on the Divina Commedia. The *Chiose* and the *Commento* attributed to him are unworthy of a son of Dante, and probably are none of his. Genealogists have taken no notice of his grandchildren.

Though the life of Dante contains many interesting particulars, yet no additional light is thrown on controversial points. The Editor has occasionally introduced remarks of his own, some of which are important as expressing his own convictions. Thus in reference to the somewhat mythical Beatrice of the Divina Commedia, after giving Boccaccio's romantic account of her, he says, "notwithstanding all this there are those who doubt the real existence of the daughter of Folco Portinari (of course Sir James means this only as the heroine of the poem) and maintain with very ingenious proofs, if not conclusive, that the Beatrice of Dante is nothing more than an ideal creation, an allegory, which in the poem is put to represent *occult philosophy*. Whoever may desire to enter more profoundly into this argument can read the truly erudite work of the late Gabriele Rossetti entitled la Beatrice". The Editor also expresses his doubts whether Dante ever became a terziario of the Frati Minori. I think it more probable that he did than not; it was then a very usual practice with religiously minded persons of distinction. The cord to which Dante alludes, Inf. XVI., 106—8,

> Io aveva una corda intorno cinta,
> E con essa pensai alcuna volta
> Prender la lonza alla pelle dipinta,

was not, however, *l'umile capestro* of the preaching friars, though in a political sense it might signify popular eloquence. Dante's father, Allighiero II., died about 1263. When he lost his mother is not known, she was a worthy woman, and deserved well of her son for the care she had taken of his education. In all probability Dante went to the University of Bologna previously to becoming a pupil of the Notary to the Republic, Ser Brunetto Latini, whose instructions were directed to forming Dante's

* First printed at Palermo in 1817 (Tomo III. delle Rime antiche Toscane).

political character, and training him up as a useful person in the state. Before entering the public service Dante very properly gave a guarantee of good citizenship by taking to himself a wife — *nè cosa può esser perfetta, dove questo non sia* — these are the golden words of Leonardo Aretino — who adds — "Dante, therefore, taking a wife, and living, like a good citizen, an honest and studious life, was much employed in the affairs of the Republic".

It is pleasant to find the Author saying a kind word for Gemma, that faithful wife and exemplary mother, or at least throwing in a doubt against the malicious suggestions of her detractors, "ma forse senz'alcun fondamento". Dante lived in an age of *invidia* and calumny, when exasperated party feelings sought to ruin character as well as prospects; even the idle talk touching the Poet's love for other ladies had no better foundation:

Non creda monna Berta e ser Martino.

The numerous children which Gemma bore to her husband, and the exemplary care bestowed by her on their education under the most adverse circumstances, outweigh all aspersions on her conjugal affection and motherly character. If what some writers profess to believe of the *Vita Nuova* were true, poor Gemma's amiable temper, immediately after her marriage, must have been subjected to a severe trial indeed, but there is no evidence of this.

The well known principles of Dante, his inflexible love of justice, order, and propriety, even to his own detriment when it came in the way of duty, might convince us that in those intimate relations of life on which domestic contentment and personal happiness hinge, he did not act otherwise than as his true heart prompted him and his conscience approved. The picture which the Poet has left us of his domestic felicity, than which nothing more tender, more affecting, and more devoted was ever written, is an everliving testimony of the love he bore to his wife and children —

Tu lascerai ogni cosa diletta
Più caramente, e questo è quello strale
Che l'arco dell'esilio pria saetta.

Byron might well remark that "there is no tenderness equal to the tenderness of Dante" *. Gemma outlived her husband more than ten years.

* See Mazzinghi — "A brief notice of some recent researches respecting Dante Alighieri". Last year, in a number of the "Quar-

Dante would seem to have dated his services to the Republic from the memorable fight of Campaldino, June 11th. 1289; though it is probable that he had joined the raid of the Florentines on Arezzo in May of the previous year. From June 15th. 1300, to August 15th. he served the office of prior, and by his firmness and energy ruled his colleagues as well as the state. To having filled this office conscientiously, and to the best of his ability, the Poet attributed all his subsequent misfortunes. In a letter, now lost, which Leonardo Aretino was privileged to behold, occurred the passage he has given us in his Life of Dante — "Tutti li mali, e tutti gl'inconvenienti miei dagl'infausti comizj del mio Priorato ebbero cagione e principio: del quale Priorato, benchè per prudenza io non fossi degno, nientedimeno per fede e per età non ne era indegno: perocchè dieci anni erano già passati dopo la battaglia di Campaldino, nella quale la parte Ghibellina fu quasi al tutto morta e disfatta, dove mi trovai non fanciullo nelle armi". According to Leonardo it was during the priorato of the Poet that the somewhat mysterious meeting of the Neri took place in the church of the Holy Trinity at Florence, which in its deplorable consequences was certainly the more immediate cause of the exile of Dante and the ruin of the moderate party. It is an event on which authorities are much at variance, but probably Leonardo Aretino is right, and the words of Dante's letter tend to confirm this view. It would seem beyond reasonable doubt that the secret meeting in Santa Trinità led to the banishment of the chiefs of the Neri and Bianchi as recommended by Dante, who did not hesitate to include his bosom friend Guido Cavalcanti among the number. The Bianchi were banished to Serezzano (Sarzana), where Guido caught malaria fever, and, returning with his party to Florence before the Neri were recalled, died there in the autumn. This return of one party before the other was also made a subject of accusation against Dante, who then was no longer in office.

The real cause of Dante's exile was, as Fraticelli has well said "the having thwarted the designs of the Neri

terly Review", Dante's moral motives, his religious principles, and his love for his wife and children, were treated in a way as discreditable to the judgment of the reviewer, who by his style would seem to have been a clergyman, as the ignorance shown in the same article in reference to the Literature of the sixth centenary Dante Festival was disreputable in a public writer, and injurious to the high character of the periodical in which it appeared.

and opposed the coming of the French prince, Carlo de Valois, to Florence, which he well foresaw would result in the ruin of the city" *.

Another point on which modern biographers and commentators differ from their predecessors is the question when Dante first sought an asylum at the court of the Scaligeri in Verona. According to Pelli it was not before 1308; and Pietro Fraticelli is quite positive that it was not before 1317. Boccaccio relates that Dante, after wandering for some time about Tuscany, betook himself to Verona. But unfortunately Giovanni Boccaccio is never very accurate in historical matters, and appears to have been quite as unacquainted with the real facts of Dante's exile as he was with the family history of the Lords of Verona. The date of Dante's first condemnation is January 27th. 1302, that of the second March 10th., with an interval of only six weeks. At the time of the first he was in Rome on an embassy from his party, whether he left the Papal court before the second condemnation reached him is rather doubtful, but he probably did, and was met by it on his journey back. But be that as it may, Alberto della Scala, with whom Boccaccio says Dante first took refuge, died September 10th. 1301. He was the father of Bartolomeo, Alboino, and Francesco, commonly called Can Grande. Dante speaks of Alberto somewhat contemptuously, and, in 1300, as having *un piede entro la fossa* (Purg. XVIII., 121—126). This would tend to show that when the passage was written the Poet had received no peculiar favour from the family, and was under no obligation to any of Alberto's sons. *Il gran Lombardo* (Pard., XVII., 71), by whom Dante was first received as a permanent guest after his unsuccessful endeavours at obtaining by favour or force readmission to Florence and the restitution of his property, was regarded by all the early commentators up to the time of Vellutello as the eldest son of Alberto, Bartolomeo, who died May 7th. 1304 **, but *he* did not bear the eagle on the *scala* of the Family. *Il santo uccello*, the imperial symbol, was not placed there till 1311, in the latter part of which year Alboino died.

* "Vita di Dante", p. 133.
** Fraticelli says March 7th.

CHAPTER III.

SECOND VOLUME OF LORD VERNON'S WORK ON DANTE CONTINUED.

The letter of Frate Ilario — Dante's Travels — Completion of the Inferno — The *Messo di Dio*. Death of the Poet. The titles of various documents — The *Carta Storica-geografica*. The English Stipendiaries and Giovanni Aguto. The Florentine Constitution. The Heraldry of the Republic and Conclusion of the Volume.

The period of Dante's first sojourn at Verona is intimately connected with the story of the letter of Frate Ilario. To this letter Fraticelli gave entire credit. Before leaving Italy for France in 1308—9, the Poet, desirous of conveying his Inferno to Uguccione della Faggiuola, to whom he had dedicated it, calls on his way at the Monastery of Santa Croce del Corvo, has an interview with frate Ilario, the prior, to whom he was personally unknown, and commits to his charge this cantica, with a request that, if he has time to attend to such studies, he will declare its meaning in explanatory words and notes, and then convey it to Uguccione. The story of itself is extremely improbable. It is contrary to the character of the Poet to suppose that he would desire a person less learned than himself to put his own construction upon the poem that Uguccione might be able to understand it better. The modesty of the frate is not less remarkable; he writes to Uguccione to say that he has faithfully done what Dante asked him to do, though he has not fully declared the sense "sotto il velame delle parole nascoso" *. As if any one but the Poet himself knew what his hidden meaning really was. The absurdity of an assumption is often shown by the consequences to which it leads, and here the Poet is represented as requesting the corruption of his own text by the glosses of frate Ilario. "This", says Viviani, ** "is, in my opinion, the cause of so many variations, all more or less acceptable, having been introduced in the text". And he infers from it that it was the Poet's practice to distribute copies of his manuscript among the learned that they

* "Il quale lavoro, quantunque non abbia io appieno dichiarato il senso sotto il velame delle parole nascoso, l'ho pur fatto con fidelt\u00e0 e con animo volenteroso".

** "Il Dante giusta la Lezione del Codice Bartoliniano". Vol. III. pt. 1. p. XIV.

might improve his own phraseology — "affinchè lo riformassero essi coll'introduzione di que' vocaboli de' diversi dialetti che fossero più atti alla significazione volgare delle idee da lui concepite". (!)

But there are more weighty objections than these against the genuineness of this letter. Admitting that the Inferno was finished in 1308, and that the Purgatory and Paradise were so far advanced that Dante had decided in his own mind to whom he would dedicate them, which he had not done, as the sequel showed, yet it is extremely improbable that he would so far commit himself as to inform a stranger of his intentions which might afterwards be changed, and that he should tell the friar if Uguccione was so pleased with this cantica as to desire copies of the other two, that he would find the Purgatory with the Marchese Moroello Malaspina of Lunigiana, and the Paradise with Federico king of Sicily, of whom in the nineteenth canto we read —

> Vedrassi l'avarizia e la viltate
> Di quel che guarda l'isola del fuoco
> Dove Anchise finì la lunga etate. (v. 130—2.)

Fraticelli has sought to defend the genuineness of this letter by its occurring in a codice with other letters which are genuine, as if such company was sufficient to make it so, or its spuriousness could invalidate them, as he pretends. Principal Centofanti of Pisa declared this letter to be "una manifesta impostura". If it were genuine it would tend to show that Dante had finished his Inferno in 1308, a favourite theory with Fraticelli. The story told by Boccaccio of the first seven cantos of the Inferno having by chance been found among Dante's papers in Florence, and their being sent to his friend the Marquis Moroello Malaspina, with whom at that time, in 1307, the Poet was staying, and at whose request he undertook to resume and continue the poem, though an incredible tale, may yet have an element of truth in it. It may be that after 1306, when Dante ceased to take part in the schemes and cabals of the Bianchi, he did give his mind again to his higher calling, and "*Io dico seguitando*", with which the eighth canto commences, may mark the place, as Boccaccio says it does, where he resumed his poetic labours. But when did Dante first stay at Verona? Probably not till after he had separated from the Bianchi and made a party for himself. Various are the opinions of biographers on this mooted point.

The last time that Dante is found acting in concert with the Bianchi is in the summer of 1306 at San Gaudenzio in Mugello, in reference to the war of Montaccianico. On the 27th. of August in this year he was at Padua. Probably from thence he went to Venice, with which city he was evidently familiar when he wrote the graphic description of the Arsenal (Inf. XXI., 7—25). During his stay in Verona Dante was invited by Guglielmo di Castelbarco, the most esteemed friend and counsellor of the Scaligeri, to pay him a visit in his castle of Lizzana, and it was from this rocky height that the Poet beheld in all its awful grandeur that vast ruin of the massive limestone mountains, the Slavino di Marco, which extends for miles along the valley down to the winding Adige, and of which he has introduced a truly pictorial and scientific description in the twelfth canto of the Inferno (v. 4—9). If Dante did not go to Verona till 1308, as Pelli thought, this must have been written shortly before he left Italy for France, or after his return; and if he did not go to stay any time at Verona till 1317, as Fraticelli maintained, then when could it have been written? Before he went? When also had Dante the time and opportunity to acquaint himself with the country surrounding the Lago Benaco, and to survey with such accuracy and to note down with such precision as he has done the remarkable features of that interesting lake, so accurately described in the twentieth canto, v. 61—78? The Inferno shows no evidence of having been hastily written. But it does show the evidence of not having been finished till after the death of Pope Clement Vth., which happened on April 20th. 1314. Dante would not have predicted the death of Clement within a given time if the event had not already transpired (Inf. XIX., 79—84). It is not improbable that the Poet's resolution to pursue his studies abroad may have been taken about 1307, when he determined to continue his poetic labours, if what Boccaccio says of them be true. Dante remained abroad about two years, furnishing his mind with the impressions of foreign lands, scenes, customs, habits and usages, to introduce them in his poem and thus give to it a more universal character. The references in the Inferno to the south of France, to London, to Flanders, and to Cologne on the Rhine, as found at Inf. IX., 112; XII., 120; XV., 4; XXIII., 63; almost serve to trace the Poet's route, and to show that this cantica was finished only after his return by way of Germany from his visit to Paris, when the advent of the

Emperor, Henry VII., for a time Dante's supreme political hope, brought him back to Italy. This well meaning prince was regarded by the Poet and many others as the long expected Saviour sent to heal the wounds of their suffering country, and to establish good government in Italy — as the sword of the Lord which was to cut short every tyranny, and to root out all political evil — the *Messo di Dio* so ardently desired. Vain hopes!

La spada di quassù non taglia in fretta,
Nè tardo, ma che al parer di colui
Che desiando o temendo l'aspetta.

If any *one* individual can be regarded as fulfilling the character of the *Messo di Dio*, he must be the Poet himself acting on many through successive ages by the influence of his eloquence and the transforming power of his word. The impatient Ghibelline might ask the Emperor "Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?" But time has shown that Dante was himself the "*vas d'elezione*", ordained to be the prophet and the regenerator of the Italian people. For as the divine mission of the Redeemer is demonstrated by its spiritual fruits, so is that of Dante by its living effects. He might look up for a time to the Emperor, as he subsequently did to Uguccione della Faggiuola, and afterwards to Can Grande, but in none of these were his expectations fulfilled. Yet Dante was ever hopeful and certain to the last. He might exclaim —

O ciel, nel cui girar par che si creda
Le condizion di quaggiù trasmutarsi,
Quando verrà per cui questa disceda?
Purg. XX., 13—15.

But his confidence in the Divine order never failed him —

Ch' io veggio certamente, e però il narro,
A darne tempo, già stelle propinque,
Sicure d'ogni intoppo e d'ogni sbarro.
Purg. XXXIII., 40—2.

This was the true spirit of a prophet, having his vision there fixed

Ov'ogni cosa dipinta si vede.

In the slow and complicated course of human events, the agents employed in the moral training of the world all contribute, with the certainty of unfailing laws, to work out a definite and desirable result. This the Poet well knew; the Philosophy of History showed him that it was so.

The battle of the Val di Nievole, fought August 29th. 1315, in which the Guelphs and Florentines were routed with great slaughter by Uguccione was the last delusive smile of Fortune on that distinguished warrior. In the following year Dante and Uguccione met at the court of Can Grande, the willing recipients of his generous protection. In 1317 we find Dante at Padua with his friend Giotto, then engaged in decorating with frescoes the chapel of the Arena belonging to the Scrovigni family. In August 1319 Uguccione fell a victim to fever caught at the siege of Padua, where he commanded the army of Can Grande. Dante's own time was now approaching, and he seems to have been aware of it, seeking in the retirement of religious houses favourably situated among Nature's fairest scenes, the conditions conducive to those lofty contemplations of his ideal Paradise which have rendered the concluding cantos of his third cantica supremely inspired.

In 1320 the Poet took up his residence in Ravenna, where Guido Novello da Polenta, the Lord of that city, had with much solicitude invited him. In the following year he also, like Uguccione, fell a victim to fever in his zeal to serve his friend and protector. The Venetians threatened to make war on Ravenna, and Dante undertook an embassy to persuade them from it. The Venetian senators refused to hear the ambassador of Guido because they were afraid of him; they dreaded lest his eloquence should disarm their wrath, and turn them from their purpose. For the same reason the Republic would not allow Dante to return by sea, lest, on his passage, he should board their admiral, Ammirato, to whom they had deputed the power of making peace or war, and convert him into a friend. In early life Brunetto Latini had taught his pupil that eloquence was more powerful than fleets and armies, and the Venetians evidently thought so. Guido's ambassador was obliged to return by land, caught marsh fever on the way, and died September 14th. 1321, aged fifty six years. Thus the last act in the political career of Dante Allighieri, on the authority of Filippo Villani, proved as honorable to the Poet as it was fatal to the man.

The life of Dante is followed by the three condemnations — that of January 27th. 1302; that of March 10th. of the same year; and that of November 6th. 1315. In each of which Dante's casato is differently spelled; we have Alleghieri, Allighieri, and, lastly, Adhegheri. In the

third volume, Luigi Passerini, in his brief remarks on this disputed point, gives his voice for the single *l*, preferring the dictum of Audin des Rians, and the usage of Peter Fraticelli, to the higher authorities of Pelli, Scolari, and Torri, to whom he should have added Dionisi, Giuliani, Witte, Scarabelli and the Conte Serego, who have all declared for the double *ll*. In the first condemnation Dante is one of four only, in the second of fifteen, in the third his sons are included along with himself, and many of the Portinari family also. Next we have the legal documents of the peace which Dante negotiated in October 1306, between the Malaspina family and the bishop of Luni, along with the *Albero* of the family. Two chronological tables of much importance follow:

Tavole Cronologiche Letterarie dal secolo VI. al sec. XIII., p. 63—78.

Tavole Cronologiche Istoriche del secolo di Dante p. 79—102.

Then come — The oration of Messer Farinata degli Uberti to king Manfred; the address of Tegghiaio degli Adimari to the senate and people of Florence; and the discourse of Farinata in the council of the Ghibellines, held at Empoli in 1260, when it was proposed to raze Firenze to the ground (Inf. X., p. 91—3). p. 103—122

Ma fu' io sol colà, dove sofferto
Fu per ciascun di torre via Fiorenza,
Colui che la difese a viso aperto.

We have next — The letter written in Rome, January 23. 1286, by the archbishop of Pisa, Ruggieri, to the preaching friars of that city; with a facsimile of it, and remarks by the Cav. Francesco Bonaini p. 123—134. Then follow — The instructions given by Robert king of Jerusalem and Sicily to the ambassadors about to proceed to the court of Clement V., to show that the coronation of Henry VII. as king of the Romans was invalid, along with the reply of the Emperor p. 135—151.

King Robert of Naples sent his brother John with 300 cavalry to Rome to join the Orsini and oppose the entry of the Emperor, and they did so at the Ponte Molle. This force also occupied St. Peter's and all the Vatican, so that the coronation had to be transferred to St. Giovanni Laterano.

The *Carta Storica-Geografica* which follows is a most carefully constructed map showing the extent and boundaries of the various Lordships, Republics, and Communi-

ties existing in upper and middle Italy, of which, in the time of Dante, there were upwards of a hundred. The kingdom of Naples belonged entirely to the Angioini, and Sicily to the Aragonesi: there were no independent *Signorie* in these two kingdoms. The description of the Italy of Dante's time occupies seven chapters, and extends from p. 161 to p. 234.

I. CONDIZIONI POLITICHE D'ITALIA AI TEMPI DI DANTE.

Capitolo I. Preliminari . . . . . p. 163—170.
Capitolo II. L'atto della Lega Lombarda . . . p. 171—180.
Capitolo III. L'atto della Lega Guelfa Toscana . p. 181—188.
Capitolo IV. La Lega Ghibellina Toscana. La Guerra: Battaglia di *Montaperti* etc. p. 189—199.
Capitolo V. La Lega Ghibellina Italiana. Ghibellini: Battaglia di *Campaldino* etc. . p. 200—209.
Capitolo VI. Le Milizie dei Comuni Italiani . . p. 210—225.
1. Primordii delle Milizie cittadine. 2. Il Carroccio. 3. Le Società delle armi del Popolo di Lucca. 4. Le Compagnie del Popolo di Pisa. 5. Le Compagnie del Popolo di Siena. 6. Le Compagnie del Popolo di Firenze. Ordine delle Venti Compagnie della Milizia Fiorentina nel 1304 * . . . p. 221—225.
Sextu Ultrani . . . . . quatuor Societates.
Sextu Scti Petri Scheradii . quatuor Societates.
Sextu Scti Prancatii . . . tres Societates.
Sextu Portae Domus. . . tres Societates.
Sextu Portae Sancti Petri . tres Societates.
Capitolo VII. Le Milizie Stipendiarie Straniere . . p. 226—234.
1. Le compagnie c i capitani Venturieri.
2. Codice Militare Pisano per gli Stipendiarii Stranieri.
3. Codice Militare per gli Stipendiarii del Comune di Firenze.
4. La Milizia degli Ungheri.
5. La Milizia degli Inglesi.

Of all the stipendiaries who sold themselves to fight the battles of the fourteenth century in Italy, none have left so lasting a fame behind them as the English. Nor has any leader of these hired bands ever attained to such good fortune as the redoubtable English Captain, John Hawkswood, alias Giovanni Aguto. The English mer-

* These are taken from the *Archivio delle Riformagioni;* Provisioni del 1304; and are given according to the *Sestieri* with their respective banners.

cenaries are described as young men, most of them born and bred in the long French wars, used to blood and rapine, reckless of their lives, and ever ready for anything. At the same time well under discipline, and obedient to orders. They were armed with long heavy lances, swords, and daggers: also, it would seem, with bows and arrows — and carried, besides, short scaling ladders, which they used in a dexterous way for mounting the walls of towers, one ladder hooking on to another. They wore armour which was always kept well burnished, that its brightness might flash fear into the eyes of the enemy. When fighting on foot they formed in circle, and lowering their lances, advanced at a slow and steady pace, with terrible shouts, carrying all before them. Nothing in fact could resist these formidable weapons, which were so heavy that two and sometimes three pair of hands assisted in supporting them, spearing their adversaries as easily as they would spike wild boars. On horseback they fought in a loose and scattered manner. Each kept two pages to look after his arms and horses. Their expeditions were mostly undertaken by night. When off duty their manners were free and overbearing. They were known as the English *lances*; before their time the hired cavalry were called *barbute* or *bandiere*. Now a few words about their leader, Giovanni Aguto, or Acuto, which, though not a literal, is yet a characteristic rendering of John Hawkswood. Sir John was the son of a tanner in the City of London, and Fuller says that, being bound apprentice to a tailor, he turned his needle into a sword. He first made himself famous in the French wars of Edward III., and was knighted. John was, by profession, a fighting man, and by fighting he lived; it mattered not on which side he fought so long as he was well paid for it — Guelphs or Ghibellines — Popes or their opposers — were all the same to him. In 1369 he laid siege to Urban V., mewed up in Montefiascone; and later in his life made war on Fienza by order of the Cardinal Legate. He became Captain general of the Florentines in their war against Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan, and remained in the service of the Republic up to the peace of Genoa in 1392, when he retired from business.

The Republic treated him handsomely, made him a citizen, and gave him a villa to live in at Montecchio, or at San Donato in Polverosa, where he ended his days. An anecdote is related of him that, being ac-

costed one day by two begging friars with the usual pious salutation "peace be with you", Sir John turned on them sharply and replied — "may God take your living from you". The poor friars, terrified by the words and manner of the man of war, meekly asked — "Monsignor, why do you say so to us?" "Why did you say so to me?" rejoined Aguto — "We thought we had spoken well", stammered out the friars — "What! when you say to me may God take your means of subsistence from you; do you not know that I live by war and that peace would be my ruin, yet you say to me 'peace be with you'."

Next in order we have:

II. ALCUNI PARTICOLARI DELLA COSTITUZIONE FIORENTINA. p. 235.

Capitolo I. *Il Governo della Republica* . . . . p. 237—244.

1. I Priori delle Arti.
2. I consigli.
3. Lo Squittinio.
4. Le Borse e gli Accoppiatori.
5. Lo Specchio.
6. Veto di parte Guelfa.
7. Le Arti.
8. L'Arte de' Medici e Speziali.

Capitolo II. *Amministrazione della Giustizia* . . p. 245—247.

1. Il Podestà.
2. Il Capitano del Popolo.
3. L'Esecutore degli ordinamenti della Giustizia.

Capitolo III. *Il magistrato di parte Guelfa* . . . p. 248—264.

1. Sua origine e istituzione.
2. Le Imprese contro i Ghibellini.
3. Le Paci — le Feste e la Mostra solenne delle Arti.
4. Corruzione della parte Guelfa.
5. La Legge del 1347 (Gennaio 26. 1346, stile Fior.) e la riforma del 1349 (14 luglio).
6. L'Officio della Parte, capo della setta Oligarchica.
7. Riforma dei 27 Agosto 1354 e la legge del 1358.

A map of Florence of the third Circle follows with illustrations and descriptions which occupy seven chapters, preceded by a few preliminary remarks. Malespini is here the chief authority. The arrangement of the streets, churches, houses, etc. is alphabetical.

Avviso Preliminare . . . . . p. 267—269.

Capitolo I. Dei tre primi recinti murali di Firenze. Delle Porte e Postierle del terzo cerchio. Dei Ponti . . . . . p. 271—277.

Capitolo II.	Delle Vie, Vicoli e Chiassi	p. 278—294.
Capitolo III.	Delle Piazze	p. 295—301.
Capitolo IV.	Delle Chiese, Ospedali ed altri luoghi pii	p. 302—317.
Capitolo V.	Delle Case ed altri pubblici e privati Edifici	p. 318—340.
	Elenco numerico delle Case	p. 341—343.
Capitolo VI.	Delle Torri	p. 344—345.
Capitolo VII.	Delle Loggie	p. 346.

The Heraldic Illustrations and historical notices which succeed occupy nearly one half of the volume, from p. 347 to p. 612.

Illustrazioni Araldiche contenenti Le Armi della Repubblica di Firenze; de' suoi Istituti Civile e Militari; e delle sue principali Famiglie.

These are preceded by two letters to Lord Vernon, one from Luigi Passerini, dated Firenze April 19. 1851. The other from Giuseppe Antinori dated a week earlier. This most complete treatise comprises not only the arms of the families mentioned by Dante, but also those of other families connected with them. The drawings were all taken from genuine sources.

Florence was originally a Roman colony, and was known in its early days as *la piccola Roma.* From the first its arms were a white lily on a red ground, the lily being probably in reference to the flowery mead on which it was situated, abounding in "fiori e gigli", and possibly the ground to the sanguinary character of its early patron Mars. Some writers, however, consider the flower to have been il Ghiaggiuolo, known to botanists as the *Iris Florentina.* In July 1251, when the Guelphs drove out the Ghibellines, the colours were changed, the lily became red, the ground white; to this Cacciaguida alludes when, speaking of the good old times, he says —

che il giglio
Non era ad asta mai posto a ritroso,
Nè per division fatto vermiglio.
Parad. XVI., 152—4.

The Ghibellines, however, are stated by Rostrelli (*Firenze antica e moderna,* Tom. V., p. 240), to have retained the original device and to have added, in a golden chief, the double necked imperial eagle. The shield divided per pale, red and white, became the arms of the Comune when, in the eleventh century, Fiesole was conquered and united to Florence.

In the 13th. cent. the Guelphs, to please Pope Clement IVth., set up his arms also, a black eagle on a white ground standing on a dragon, and holding in its mouth a small red lily. At the same time, and probably before, the Guelphs, to show their devotion to the church, carried on a red ground the cross keys of St. Peter. When, in 1267, the Florentines gave the lordship of the City to Carlo d'Anjou, they also adopted, as is supposed, his arms, a blue ground *semée* with golden lilies, and a red label to show his family status, as a younger brother of Louis IX. In 1282, when the constitution of Florence became more democratic, and i Priori delle Arti were established, the Signoria set up for their arms the word *Libertas* in golden letters on a blue ground. From the 13th. cent., the red cross on a white ground was the symbol of the popular goverment, and, in 1293, when a Gonfaloniere di Giustizia was elected, these arms were assigned to him. The ancient Florentines, who regarded themselves as the followers of Mars, if not his children, being born under his influence, maintained a corresponding character, and showed an innate disposition to make war on their neighbours, and sometimes on one-another. The Carroccio with its lofty banner was their sacred car, a very ark of the covenant in carrying out their sanguinary designs. We have here a characteristic representation of it with the storm of war raging wildly around. The oxen who drew it, like the guards who defended it, were marked to be slain. The Martinello, which consisted of a wooden frame bearing a large bell, and mounted on a cart, was drawn by led horses, and told of the strife that was intended. The banners of the citizen soldiers, as recorded by Giovanni Villani, the Arms of the Sestieri, and the flags, twenty in number, of their military companies, are also given, and the volume concludes with the heraldic bearings of one hundred and two Florentine and other families, alphabetically arranged:

Ma perchè piene son tutte le carte
Ordite *a questo volume secondo*,
Non mi lascia più ir lo fren dell'arte.

CHAPTER IV.

THE THIRD VOLUME OF LORD VERNON'S WORK ON DANTE. THE ALBUM.

Object of the Album. The part taken in it by Mr. Kirkup of Florence. The Life of Lord Vernon by the Editor. Generosity of Lord Vernon. Note of the Portinari family. The Portrait of Dante. Letter of Mr. Kirkup on the discovery of the Portrait. Description of the fresco in which it occurs. Objections to its being by Giotto answered. The mask of Dante.

In referring to his third volume Lord Vernon says in his address to the reader — "I have thought it desirable to unite with the work a third volume of engravings of various subjects, which besides rendering it more ornamental, may, in many respects, be considered useful. For as they represent portraits, paintings, plans, and, above all, historical monuments, they illustrate the history of the 14th. Cent., the biography of Dante, and the particulars of his poem". Lord Vernon also makes a graceful allusion to Rossini for having, at his expressed wish, kindly set to music the most touching part of the Episode of Francesca da Rimini.

This volume bears on its title page the date of Dante's great Festival in Florence, May 15. 1865, at which Lord Vernon's presence was greatly desired, and the regret of his friends at his absence was increased by the cause of it. On this occasion he was made a Cavalier of the order of the Saints Maurice and Lazarus. In the *Avvertimento* by the Editor, we read something more of Lord Vernon's generous intentions, and of the vicissitudes which befell the work in its progress. One motive which the noble Dantophilist had in view was to place before the reader correct representations of the places and objects to which Dante alludes, another was to render the conceptions of the Poet more vividly understood. For these purposes the Cav. Iller and Sig. Gaetano Grossi were sent about Italy to take views with the daguerreotype; the process of photography, unfortunately was not then known. The services of the celebrated architect Canina were also enlisted in the work, as were those of the talented engraver Lasinio of Pisa, and of our own Finden. Among these, or rather above them all, our countryman Mr. Seymour Kirkup of Florence holds the place of honour, and was for

several years the right hand of Lord Vernon in the production of this Album. The names of other artists mentioned by the Editor, àre Pietro Folo of Rome; Tito della Santa of Pisa; and Girolamo Tubino, director of the Academy of the Fine Arts in Genova.

More than five and twenty years have elapsed since the Album was put in hand; during that quarter of a century many are the mishaps that have overtaken it in the mislaying of drawings and engravings, some of which disappeared quite, so that all hope of continuing the work through the second and the third cantica, which was the original intention, had to be abandoned.

This address is followed by the portrait of Lord Vernon, taken about twenty years ago, and a short biographical notice. His Lordship was born June 22. 1803, at Stapleford Hall, in the county of Nottingham, and was the fifth Baron who bore the title. An ancestor, Sir George Vernon, of Haddon Hall, in the 16th. cent., was popularly called *"The king of the Peak"*. Before commencing his political career, Lord Vernon, taking example from Dante, married his first wife, by whom he had Augustus Henry, now the sixth Baron, born in Rome 1829. In 1830 he entered Parliament as member for Derbyshire, and after the passing of the Reform bill, which he supported, the county becoming divided into north and south, he represented the latter division until 1835, when, on the death of his father, he was called to the upper house. Lord Vernon was a capital shot, and twice carried off the first prize in Switzerland, at Coira in 1840, and at Basle in 1850. In October 1853 he had the misfortune to lose his first wife; six years after, in 1859, he married again. In this year he formed a company of riflemen at Sudbury, and introduced the Swiss system of marking, a practice subsequently adopted by the National Rifle Association. One trait only of his generous character is here introduced, but it is enough to show what manner of man Lord Vernon was. In 1862, when, on account of the American war and the consequent deficiency in the supply of cotton, the manufacturing population of Lancashire was reduced to great misery, Lord Vernon came forward as one of the first to contribute largely to the public subscription raised for their relief; and when the suffering and distress increased, and especially in the neighbourhood of Stockport and Poynton, from whence he derived a considerable part of his revenue, he left his splendid residence of Sudbury Hall, and retired to a small house

in the village, that he might be the better able to assist and alleviate those whose daily labours had contributed to his wealth. Nor would he permit the parish in any way to become burdened with their relief, but took the entire expense of their support upon himself. "So long as my means last", said he in December 1862, "those who have contributed by their labour to my prosperity, shall now in their adversity be sustained and comforted by me alone". Lord Vernon's admiration for Dante was not a mere transient passion, but a permanent love, which, from his first early acquaintance with Italy, lasted throughout an entire life, and he annually set apart a portion of his income for the advancement of Dante studies. The noble library at Sudbury Hall attests, along with his numerous publications, the zeal with which he cultivated Italian Literature. In the account which follows of Dante's family, published by Passerini on the occasion of the great festival in 1865, we read in a note that the Portinari are believed to have been descended, *ab antico*, from Fiesole. The antiquaries tell us that they had the custody of the *Por. San Piero*, near to which were their houses; their arms were a door guarded by two lions rampant sable on a golden ground, but as this door stood on three steps it was a *porticella* only, and more like the door of a tower or convent than the gate of a city. The name comes, it is said, from a certain Portinaio di Fulcone (Folco), whose name is found in a document of 1178. They were already separated into different branches when the divisions of Guelphs and Ghibellines arose in Italy. Some of them were among the banished Ghibellines in 1268. Folco, the son of Ricovero, was a Guelph, and a very rich man, who made a good use of his wealth by founding in 1285 the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. He married Cecilia di Gherardo Caponsacchi, by whom he had a daughter Bice, married to M. Simone de' Bardi. In a letter of Dec^{r}. 28. 1857 my friend, Mr. Kirkup, states that Folco was one of the priori of Florence in 1282; but in what year he began the building of the hospital is rather doubtful. In the archives of the hospital the first document is a contract of 1285 for the purchase of a piece of land of the Benincasa family, and the padre Rica in his „*Notizie storiche delle Chiese Fiorentine*", Tom. VIII., thinks that Folco began to build either in that year or the following. It is in this work that the will of Folco Portinari is given at length, in which he leaves fifty Florentine lire to his daughter Bice. The will is dated January 15th. 1287:

Folco died December 31st. 1289; and Bice on the 9th. of June in the following year.

In the Sentence of banishment of March 18th. 1302 (3), several individuals of this name occur: The family existed as late as 1772. The Donati became extinct in Giovanni di Piero, in 1616.

THE ALBUM contains one hundred and twelve plates, on several of which two or more subjects are represented. The first eleven relate more especially to the personal history of Dante. The twelfth plate refers to Landino, whose handsome folio edition of the Divina Commedia, 1481, was the first ever published in Florence. The remaining one hundred plates are views of localities mentioned by Dante, portraits, and objects of antiquity which have reference to the text, and designs to illustrate the conceptions of the Poet.

The frontispiece to the volume is the portrait of Dante discovered, through the penetration of Mr. Kirkup, in the chapel of the palace of the Potestà, formerly il Bargello, and already alluded to. The history of its discovery is related as follows in a letter from Mr. Kirkup, dated February 9th. 1857.

"The history of the Bargello portrait is this. I had returned from S. Croce, where I had been seeking that portrait mentioned by Vasari, and which I found had been destroyed by him, and much besides for his own baroque altars. My books were on my table, and I had a visit from a Piedmontese refugee named Bezzi, who had brought me a letter from Eastlake. I told him of my disappointment, but added that there was one hope yet, the Chapel of the Pal. del Podestà, which had been whitewashed. He seemed so interested that I proposed our joining to get it recovered. His joy made me ask him if he had ever heard of it, and *he said he had not.* I showed him my authorities, Villani, Filelfo, Vasari &c. The next day he called to ask if I had any objection to admit Mr. Wilde, an American friend of mine and his, to join us in the undertaking, and I agreed to it. The editor of Filelfo, the abbate Moreni, had mentioned a Sig. Scotto, who was willing to undertake the job. We found him too engaged and too old, and he recommended Sig. Marini *, with whom we made an agreement for 240 scudi to clear the whitewash off the chapel whether he found Dante or not. Bezzi drew up

* Sig. Antonio Marini, one while Professore.

our petition (being an Italian), and it was agreed to after some hesitation, and Marini went to work. He made two holes in the wall to hold two beams for his scaffold. Luckily Dante was not there or he would have been destroyed. I was obliged to threaten not to pay him if he made any more holes. He was impertinent, but made no more and used trestles. After he had worked some weeks the government stepped in. They were afraid we should make some claims to it and carry it away, or they were ashamed of foreigners doing what was their duty, and we could only prevail on them to do it on our terms, which they did. Sig. Bezzi went back to England, and some time afterwards I heard that Marini had found Dante. I went to see and found a large hole where the eye had been. 'What a pity', said I, 'era un chiodo', he replied. How could he tell? He had drawn it out instead of cutting it, and had brought away a bit of the wall, about 3 inches by 2, which went on crumbling away by the wiseacres putting their fingers in, 'ch' c'è una buca'! After a year they employed Marini to fill it up and paint a new eye, which he did, too small and too near the nose, and then touched up the rest of the face to match it, to the great loss of the likeness and colour. He likewise changed the form and colour of the capuccio, and as Dante was dressed in red, green, and white, the colours of Beatrice in the Purgatory, and of the *giovane Italia* of present times, the green was changed to chocolate colour, and so it remains till some one shall be allowed to take off his mealy tempera paint by applying a wet cloth. The original fresco seemed as hard as an enamel, and the colour like Guido and as good. They would not allow me to make a drawing from it, but I bribed the goaler of the prison to lock me up for a morning, and I made both a drawing and a tracing before the repaint, and I copied it and sent it to Rossetti, who was so pleased that he dedicated his great work in five volumes to me; his History of the Platonic school of Poetry in Italy from Frederic II. to Magalotti. We had been some time in correspondence."

Mr. Kirkup states in a subsequent letter, March 18th. 1857, that Bezzi left Florence before Dante had been found, and so did Mr. Wilde the American. Sig. Aubrey Bezzi had been a music master in Plymouth, and married the widow of a sea captain with £500 a year; he became a protegé of Sir Charles Eastlake, who made him his as-

sistant secretary in the Fine Arts Commission, and when he heard that Dante had come to light he claimed all the credit to himself and persuaded Sir Charles to make known his merits to the world. Years afterwards when some Italians had published the truth, Bezzi put forward Mr. Wilde's name as more worthy of honour in this matter, and the British public, disposed to give credit to the most barefaced assertions, for a long time ignored the originator of the discovery. In this letter, Mr. Kirkup also remarks — "It was the government which carried on what we had begun, and succeeded, and paid Marini. We, the three foreigners, began it, and gave it up unwillingly to the government. If it had been left to me it should not have been spoiled by repainting it, but I had no control, and my associates had left Florence before it was found". In a letter of May 27th. 1857, Mr. Kirkup states, "I saw Marini *restoring* the eye under the direction and instruction of Sig. Nerli, the minister of public works, whom I saw sitting by him and *teaching* him!" In a subsequent letter, April 29th. 1860, Mr. Kirkup writes — "we may thank Sig. Marini for Dante's portrait being without the eye. The only authentic portrait. It was sacrilege to attempt to supply one — a positive forgery which they have committed, and as one sin leads to another, they have daubed the rest of the face to match the new eye, and have totally lost the expression and character. They have changed the forms as well as the colour, and it is to be hoped some day that a careful restorer will remove their distemper with a wet cloth and bring back what there is and blot out the forgery. The Arundel print is a fine thing. It has the expression of the original of Giotto, really beautiful. Raphael would have valued it. I traced it and drew it from the original in its pure state, and the absence of the eye is one pledge of its authenticity, and I would not endanger it by drawing an eye of my own; any body may do it on the print and may try it by sticking an eye on it if they like. For my part I prefer the relique such as it is, in its genuine state, and no interpolations. See what their meddling has done, and compare that print with the fresco as it now stands, or with the many prints and copies which have been made since the restoration. Lord Vernon said he almost cried when he compared it with the fresco, and I dont wonder. That print is the only likeness left which is certain. The mask may be, but it is not cited in its time". The original tracing of the portrait was given, I believe, by Mr. Kirkup

to Lord Vernon, who presented it to the Arundel Society. In a letter of Dec. 28th. 1857 Mr. Kirkup, speaking of Dante's face, says, "it is so smooth that Giotto does not make him seem more than 28, I dare say he was more". The Frontispiece has a brief note in one corner in the writing of Mr. Kirkup — "Drawn from the original (by Giotto) by Seymour Kirkup, the first promoter of the discovery, and traced on the Fresco in the Palace of the Podestà in Florence before the painting was retouched". The date of the discovery was July 21st. 1840.

On plate I, also from a drawing by Mr. Kirkup, is shown the whole of the fresco which remains on the end wall of the chapel *. It represents a Paradise with God the Father in a glory of angels above, the globe at his feet, and rows on rows of male and female saints at the sides below. In the foreground are two groups of figures standing and looking towards each other. In the centre of the wall is a window, and beneath it is the Fleur-de-Lis of Florence with the remains of two supporters holding wands. On the right of the window is the figure of a Pope, or Cardinal, with the Podestà (?) kneeling at his side. On the left is a crowned figure of an Emperor or King, next to whom stands Dante. A kneeling figure on this side corresponds to the one on the opposite. All the other figures are grave and serious men, members of the religious orders, magistrates, and other public functionaries. It is a work which no biographer of the artist who painted it could in justice omit to mention. Vasari, in speaking of the felicitous manner in which Giotto painted his portraits, says — "il quale fra gli altri ritrasse, come ancor oggi si vede nella cappella del palagio del Podestà di Firenze, Dante Alighieri coetaneo ed amico suo grandissimo e non meno famoso poeta, che si fusse ne' medesimi tempi Giotto pittore" . . . . "Nella medesima cappella è il ritratto, similemente di mano del medesimo, di Ser Brunetto Latini maestro di Dante, e di M. Corso Donati gran cittadino di que' tempi". There can be no mistake here as to the manner of the painting, that it was a grand wall fresco, and not a mere *tavola*, as some have since pretended, and affirmed that it was burnt in the fire of February 28th. 1332, which destroyed the roof of the old palace and portions of the new. Villani's words are — "E poi addì 28 di Febbrajo la notte vegnente

* The process of obliteration by the whitewash is supposed to have taken place when the palace was converted into a prison, and the chapel made into cells.

s'apprese il fuoco nel palagio del comune, ove abita il podestà, e arse tutto il tetto del palagio vecchio e le due parti del nuovo dalle prime volte in suso. Per la qual cosa s'ordinò per lo comune, che si rifacesse tutto in volte infino a' tetti". Lib. X., cap. 184. This would seem to refer to the part of the palace occupied by the podestà, and not so much to the chapel. Another circumstance urged by those who attribute this fresco to a pupil of Giotto, one Daddi, is, that beneath the kneeling figure of the supposed podestà is a shield with the arms of messer Tedice de' Fieschi, who held that office in 1358—9. But if this fire destroyed the original fresco in 1332, as Giotto did not die till 1336, there was still time enough for him to repaint it. The arms are a *rifacimento* painted in part over the figure (so Kirkup). The objection of the Editor that not before 1342, when the sentences against Dante were cancelled, and his memory restored to favour, could he be represented among the great men of his time, is of little weight, for all animosity against the Poet ceased with his death, and even before that the Florentines were proud of him. The subject of the lower part of the picture has been supposed to represent a conference, or pacification of parties, but it has a very allegorical character, almost as much so as the Paradise over it, and may, perhaps, be meant to show that harmony ought equally to reign below in Florence as in Heaven above. The *cappuccio* worn by the Poet was white lined with red, the *cappa*, or mantle, was red lined with white, beneath which was a green *farsetto* or doublet. Plates II and III are outline portraits of Dante with the mutilated eye. Plate VI shows two positions of the mask of Dante, originally from Ravenna, and which was given to Mr. Kirkup by the sculptor Lorenzo Bartolini. "There is", says Mr. Kirkup (Letter April 29th. 1860), "a MS life of Dante in the Magliabechiana by Cinelli about 1670, in which a head of Dante is mentioned, and is supposed to relate to the mask; what it contains on the subject has been printed at Bologna in the *Memorie originali Italiane riguardanti le Belle Arti*, edited by Guslandi, 1842, serie terza, p. 117. Gibson and Wyatt both declared (apart) that the mask is from nature, and not a model, or work of art. I did not tell them who it was, and Wyatt said, 'it is a fine head and a good deal like the portraits of Dante by Raphael in the Vatican'. I think they are right. They judged by the surface, the arteries and wrinkles, besides which I judge from the eye being half

closed; a sculptor would have made them open, or else asleep, and any how both alike, but in this one eye is more closed than the other". There has been some question of late whether or not Dante wore a beard. The Editor says beards were not in fashion in those days. Yet Boccaccio has left it on record that the Poet had a beard thick, black, and curly; and we have the words of Beatrice — *alza la barba* (Purg. XXXI., 68). In reference to the genuineness of the mask this is not of much importance, as we may suppose if Dante had a beard that it would have been removed before the cast was taken. In his early days Dante wore no beard, and it is probable that he retained this usage ever after. These plates are all from drawings by Mr. Kirkup, as is also the Basso rilievo of the three-quarter portrait of the Poet in a studious attitude on his tomb at Ravenna by Pietro Lombardo, 1483, shown on plate IX. But before noticing the last resting place in Ravenna of all that was mortal in Dante Allighieri, it is proper to describe his once living residence in Florence, and here again, at the very door of his house, we meet with his kind friend Mr. Kirkup.

CHAPTER V.

THE ALBUM OF LORD VERNON CONTINUED.

Florence of the *cerchia antica*. The houses of the Allighieri. *Dante's door* and the history of its misfortunes. Drawing made of it by Mr. Seymour Kirkup and its restoration under his direction. *Sasso di Dante.* Arch of *the Porta di San Pietro.* Official publications on the houses of the Allighieri, with remarks on the report of Prof. Fulcini. Dante's Tomb at Ravenna. His picture in the Duomo at Florence — Cristoforo Landino.

In the heart's core of Florence, the city of the 9th. and 10th. centuries, as contained within the "*cerchia antica*", or the second circuit of the walls, the streets ran North and South, and East and West. It was not so in the Florence of the third circle, the walls of which were built in 1078, or about twelve years before the birth of Cacciaguida; and in Florence of the fourth circle, no regard whatever was shown to the cardinal points. The form of the city within the second circuit was nearly square, and the *Piazza del Duomo* occupied the N. E.

angle. From thence, as now, a straight street led to the *Piazza della Signoria*, and, a little to the West of it, another street, the *Calamara*, ran parallel with it down to the *Porta di S. Maria* opposite to the Ponte Vecchio. These two streets were bisected, as at present, by the *Corso* and its continuous streets, which, passing through the *Mercato Vecchio*, the original seat of the Florentines descended from Fiesole, and, in the time of the Lombards, called *Foro del Re*, led from the *Porta di San Pietro* on the East to the *Porta di San Pancrazio* on the west side of the city *. The first circle of the walls did not include the *Piazza del Duomo*, nor the whole of the Corso, nor of the *Via Ricciada* parallel to it, but passed south in a line a little to the west of the *Via Santa Margherita*, so called from the church of that name, and in the direction of the *Via de' Magazzini*, formerly the *Via de' Sacchetti*, so that the wall occupied in part the site on which were subsequently built the houses of the Allighieri, at least so it would appear.

These houses were in the parish of S. Martino del Vescovo, partly in the Piazza S. Martino or *de' Buonomini*, — facing the *Torre della Castagna*, and partly in the *Via S. Margherita*, which, crossing the *Piazza de' Giuocchi*, proceeds to the Corso at a right angle. So that they had two frontages, but did not, it would seem, occupy the angle made by the *Via S. Margherita* and the *Via S. Martino*, which was either an open space with a well, or occupied by other houses. In the map of Florence in Lord Vernon's work the Sacchetti are located here, and next to them i Priori delle Arti. It is to our countryman, Mr. Kirkup, that the Florentines are indebted for the first indication of all that they have since learned of the houses of the Allighieri. He has the singular merit of having been the means of bringing to light the only genuine portrait of Dante, and also of saving from destruction the last fragment of the Poet's house. But let Mr. Kirkup tell his own story. Many years ago, in a letter dated February 9th. 1857, he sent me the following account of it.

"You desire to know about Dante's house — I had made a careful drawing of a door, which was the only feature left of his time, stone by stone. One day going by, I found masons at work at it who had totally de-

* This gate was also called *Porta di San Paolo* and *de' Tornaquinci*, whose house was by the side of it.

stroyed it to make the entrance a little wider; the Abbé Mingarelli, an employé in the diplomatic archives, was looking on with displeasure. I told him I had drawn it. A few days afterwards he called on me and said he had been at a dinner at my opposite neighbours', the Cavalier Mannelli, and had complained at table of the barbarisms of the Florentines, and the destruction of the door, when to his great surprize the Cavalier asked if the house was in the piazza S. Martini, and on being told it was, he said that it was his doing to please the *pigionali*, but neither they nor he knew that the house was Dante's, as he had *never studied any antichità*. The Abbé told him of my drawing, and he came to me to lend it him, and he would rebuild the door exactly from it. He asked me to assist him and direct his workman. I promised, gratuitously, as I am not an architect, and advised him to get some old blocks of the same Tuscan style, and he was lucky enough to get an old door. It was a larger one than Dante's, and the blocks required cutting, and it was done imperfectly. As I had already caused them to make some corrections I wished to do so in this case also that the imitation of the old work might be complete, but I found that Sig. Mannelli was shy and avoided me" . . . . "The stones of the arch were cut down, as I said, but on two sides only. The uncut sides retained their border (a little smooth stripe, an inch broad and a $^1/_4$ of an inch deep, cut into the rough Tuscan surface of the stone), but the cut sides had no border, showing at a glance that it was a *pasticcio*, and not the original door (here follows a sketch of the stone). It might have been remedied in half an hour, by each stone being cut, and might still. Another fault is that the two brackets, or *mensole*, which support each end of the lintel, or architrave, are too large, having belonged to another and larger door" *. Mr. Kirkup in this letter also complains of the mean and erroneous inscription that was then set up — "Instead of a handsome slab on the front of the house, he has put a mean narrow slip in the said lintel, in the manner of a shop door, with this foolish inscription — *In questa casa degli Alighieri nacque il divino poeta* — instead of *In queste case* — for Dante's house extended over a large space, now

* Mr. Kirkup's drawing of the door was made about 1830; and the *rifacimento* some six or seven years later.

containing six or eight houses, of which this is the smallest, having only two windows to each floor, so that our Inglesi when they are shown it say — 'Ah! one sees he was a poet and a poor man, to live in such a mean little house'. I have got copies of many legal deeds concerning the house of old Allighieri (Dante's father), divided by his two sons Dante and Francesco, and of Dante's part divided by his two sons *Messer* Pietro and Jacopo — Pietro's share being left by him to the Company of Or san Michele in the XIV Century. Some of the original notarial deeds are in the Magliabechiana, or copies of the time, and the limits of the different properties are distinctly described".

Plate V. represents the entrance door of Dante's house, along with the door of the magazine at its side, from Mr. Kirkup's drawing.

In the original edition of Fantozzi's "*Nuova Guida*", Firenze 1841, at p. 304 occurs the following notice —

"92. *Casa dei Signori Mannelli Galilei* (*Via Ricciarda* No. 632). — Se non c'induce in errore una costante tradizione; se male non furono interpretati alcuni passi della Divina Commedia; e se la opinione dei moderni eruditi non andò errata, d'uopo è piegare riverenti la fronte dinanzi a questa modesta casupola siccome quella nella quale ebbe i natali il padre dell'Italiana poesia, l'altissimo Dante Alighieri. — La sua vetustissima e singolar porticina era stata, or son pochi mesi, ignorantemente demolita, ma per buona fortuna essendosi conservati i materiali fu rimessa al posto dietro il disegno che ne aveva conservato il signor Seymour Kirkup. — L'autore della Marietta de' Ricci (contro però l'autorità del Vasari) racconta che nella loggetta terrena di questa casa, ridotta oggi a magazzino, aperse la sua osteria quel cervello balzano di Mariotto Albertinelli, allorchè, noiato della pittura che tanto bene esercitava, gli piacque di cangiare le mestiche in vivande, le tinte in vernaccia, ed i pennelli in ramaioli" *.

Mr. Kirkup states in another letter (May 27th. 1857), "There is a tower of a semicircular form in the neighbourhood, piazza S. Elisabetta, which I long believed to have been the house of Dante as it was pointed out to me at first ** and was generally believed. I dont know why, except its neighbourhood to the porta S. Pietro; but I

* In 1844 or 5 the Author made a drawing of the restored door.

** Mr. Kirkup came to Italy in 1816, and after passing eight years in Rome, took up his residence at Florence in 1824, and has lived there ever since.

soon found the documents in Pelli which explained the truth, and afterwards I got the copies of inedited ones in the Magliabechiana library". Leonardo Bruni (1369—1444) who had well informed himself of all that was to be known in his time about the houses of the Allighieri, has very accurately indicated their locality — "in su la piazza dietro a S. Martino del Vescovo, dirimpetto alla via che va a casa i Sacchetti, e dall' altra parte si stendono verso le case de' Donati, e de' Giuochi". A statement repeated also by Alamanno Rinuccini.

Plate IV. is a very accurate plan of this part of the city drawn by Mr. Kirkup, showing the situation of the *Sasso di Dante* in the Piazza del Duomo; the *Casa de' Portinari* in the Corso, nearly facing the Via Margherita; the *Curia de' Donati* behind the houses of the Allighieri, here shown to occupy their proper situation; and the *casa del Bello*, in the via san Martino, a little to the west of the latter, and separated from them by an angular passage also leading into the Corso.

Few or none are the relics of Dante now remaining in Florence. "It is curious", says Mr. Kirkup in the letter last alluded to, "how many memorials of Dante have lasted through so long a period down to my time to be destroyed altogether at last, I may say under my own eyes defaced and spoiled. This door is one, *il sasso di Dante* is another *, a bit of the arch of the original gate of San Pietro is another" — "The arch of the Porta S. Pietro was thrown down by a tailor who built a lodging house there, although *he promised me* to let it remain on the front, with a suitable inscription which I gave him".

On the occasion of the Dante Festival an official work was published on Dante's house by Emilio Frullani and Gargano Gargani, ** in which the labours of these egregious authors resulted in showing that the small house belonging to Sig. Mannelli was all that they could prove as the ancient family residence of Dante, and their spirits, they said, rejoiced in the fact, "ne gode l'animo". During the Dante Festival I took a rough plan of this house, in which each floor had been arranged to accommodate a distinct family. The floors measured about 45 feet in length by 15 in breadth. The first and second floors corresponded in their arrangements; the length was divided into two nearly equal parts, the front half being subdivided, longi-

* This was a block called a *muricciuolo* on which, it is said, the Poet often sat.

** "*Della Casa di Dante, relazione con Documenti*" Firenze 1865.

tudinally, into a narrow living room, with a kitchen and the stairs at the side. The back half consisted of a single room, very obscure, with a closet at the extremity in each corner. The floor above had a small additional middle room.

I am indebted to a recent letter of Mr. Kirkup for a concise account of the history of this house. — "It fell to the share of Dominus Petrus filius olim Dantis, who bequeathed it to the Society of Or S. Michele, who sold it to one Matteo Arrighi — He bequeathed it to the convent of S. Miniato, to pay with its rent for a mass in *perpetuo* for the soul of his friend Marco Zabadei (who died in 1365). After 140 years the friars sold the house, and left the soul of poor M. Z. in the lurch. The house then passed into the possession of several purchasers, the last of whom was messer Antonio del fu Roberto Galilei, whose descendant was Mannelli Galilei, the last of whom is the present signor Mannelli". In the same letter Mr. Kirkup remarks — "There is no reason for believing that this the smallest of all the houses of the family (7 or 8) was the one in which Dante was born. The great house, next door, is much more likely to have been it. It is called the Casone, the Magione, and the Torre, and looks down the street described by the historians, and Leonardo Aretino, as belonging to the Sacchetti".

A recent report on the houses of the Allighieri by the Architect M. Fulcini, makes some amends to the memory of the Poet, by assigning to his family house dimensions more in accordance with those originally shown by Mr. Kirkup. The report was made in 1867, but not published till November 1869. Plans and sections are given, but there is no scale, they are drawn to the proportion of 1 to 140. My plan of the small house, the dimensions of which were taken in paces, gave me a scale, and applying this to the ground plan of the houses I found that their frontage in the via S. Martino was about 35 feet, their depth to the curia de' Donati 78 feet: the frontage in the Via Sa. Margherita 26 feet, and the depth back 62 feet. The space at the angle in which was a large *pozzo*, or well, is stated to have been occupied with a shop and warehouse; it is now covered with houses, but the character of the brickwork seemed to me so to correspond with that of the house of Sig. Mannelli that

* For a detailed account of this house and its floors see "*The sixth centenary Festivals of Dante Allighieri in Florence and at Ravenna*", Williams and Norgate 1866.

I should have considered these structures of the same date. Had this space been included in the houses of the Allighieri, they would have formed an irregular squared block with a frontage in the Via S. Martino of about 66 feet, and in the Via Sa. Margherita of 72 feet. As shown in M. Fulcini's plan they only occupy about two thirds of the square; at their junction behind was a massive and lofty tower. It is somewhat doubtful whether the two adjoining houses, the one in the Via S. Martino to the west, and that in the Via Sa. Margherita to the north, tinted of a different colour in the plan, belonged to the houses of the Allighieri or not, M. Fulcini thinks they did not; but the subject seems to require further investigation. The situation of the houses is much the same as is shown in Lord Vernon's plan of Florence in 1302, which may have suggested it, especially as Luigi Passerini was a member of the commission; but the details do not correspond, the frontage in the Via Sa. Margherita being less than that in the Via S. Martino, whereas in Lord Vernon's plan it is nearly double, and in the description of the houses given in the alphabetical list this is described as the principal one.

"ALDIGHIERI, stanno in S. Martino e dirimpetto a Santa Margherita — *Elenco* del 1215. Delle case degli Alighieri, che erano contigue e facevano angolo sulla due vie che guidavano a S. Martino e a Sa. Margherita, ho dato la pianta nella Mappa. La casa principale era quasi dirimpetto alla chiesa di Santa Margherita, o meglio alla sua Piazzetta. La torre poi rimaneva sulla piazza di S. Martino".

This latter statement is not quite correct, the tower was not in the line of the street, but rather behind, the remains of it may still be seen, it was very lofty: "doveva essere una Torre assai elevata", says the report, and if the second floor of the house in the Via S. Martino "all'epoca di Dante non era che una soffitta a tetto il di cui solaio ha traccie visibili di antichità", then the tower of the Allighieri would have been seen standing in proud rivalry to its opposite neighbour, "della Castagna", broader and deeper as well as taller *. The proportions of this tower on the plan would, I think, indicate its having belonged to a more extensive block of buildings than those assigned by M. Fulcini to the houses of the

* The *Torre della Castagna*, measured in paces, gave about 22 feet 6 inches for the width in front, and about 20 feet for the depth.

Allighieri, and more in accordance with the space assigned to them by Mr. Kirkup, of whom no mention is made in these reports, though to his vigilance and care are due whatever is now known of them.

The chapel, attached to the Church and convent of S. Francis at Ravenna, containing the mortal remains of the Poet, and the tomb as restored in 1780 by Camillo Morigia, on the previous design of Pietro Lombardo, at the expense of the Cardinal Gonzago, are the subjects of the PLATES VII and VIII, both from drawings by Mr. Kirkup.

PLATE X. An engraving of the picture of Dante in the Duomo at Florence by Domenico di Michelino, also from a drawing by Mr. Kirkup. In this picture the Poet was originally represented in the Italian colours, the colours of Beatrice, but the green was painted out by order of the grand ducal government. The Editor meekly says of it — "probabilmente negli ultimi restauri fu mutato in turchino". But hear the High Priest of Dante, the watchful guardian of his sacred relics

Sovra 'l bel fiume d'Arno alla gran villa.

Speaking of the wanton destruction and disgraceful neglect of these, Mr. Kirkup indignantly says (Letter of May 27th. 1857) — "The same system made them alter by the hand of Marini the dress in the old picture of Dante in the Duomo, where the green is changed to blue". The original colour ought long ago to have been restored.

PLATE XI. A portrait of one Sinibaldo Alighieri, who died in 1420, existing in the great cloister of Sta. Maria Novella; also from a drawing by Mr. Kirkup. This individual was no relation of the Poet's family.

PLATE XII. It is pleasant to see dear old Cristoforo Landino coming in for a share in the honors of this Album, though we are not treated to a sight of his benevolent face as it kindly looks down upon us from the fresco of Ghirlandajo in the choir of Santa Maria Novella, and must be contented with a view of the church in the village of *Borgo alla Collina*, where he had a country house, and is said to have been born, along with his monument within, erected in 1848. Up to that time the mortal remains of this learned Dantophilist had been treated with singular profanation. For a small gratuity his dried up body was shown as an object of *interest* to strangers. One entrance to the village passed under Landino's house, which was a large irregular building of many rooms.

Within a short distance of it was a small fountain, the Fontanella, now recognized as one of the three Fontebranda Tav. XCV and XCVI fig. 1. Landino seems to have regarded no other Fontebranda sufficient to slake the parching thirst of Maestro Adamo, than the great fountain of this name at Siena.

CHAPTER VI.

NOTICE OF THE REMAINING ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE ALBUM.

With special Remarks on Pisa and the *Torre della Fame.*

The hundred plates of Lord Vernon's Album of Dante which remain to be noticed, and follow in the order of the Cantos, may be divided into five classes according to their subjects.

I. Illustrations of the Inferno and its Torments.
II. Views of Cities, Towns, Castles, and other Localities noticed in the Inferno.
III. Representations of Persons, real or mythological, named in the Inferno.
IV. Classical and Mediæval Objects alluded to.
V. Other Illustrations which do not strictly come under any of these heads.

Class I. Illustrations of the Inferno and its Torments.

Diagram of the *Inferno*, *Purgatory*, and *Paradise* from the Cod. Laurenziano Plut. XL. No. 2. Tav. XIII.
Orgagna's Inferno in the Strozzi chapel in Sta. Maria Novella. Tav. XIV.
La Morte del Conte Ugolino from a basso relievo in the casa Gherardesca in Florence. Tav. CI.

The following thirteen illustrations are by Mr. Kirkup.

L'Antinferno (Inf. III, 109) . . . . . Tavola XXI.
Limbo (Inf. IV, 23) . . . . . „ XXII.
Avari e Prodighi (Inf. VII, 25) . . . . . „ XXVIII.
Lo Stige (Inf. VII, 106) . . . . . „ XXIX.
Spaccato del Inferno . . . . . „ XXXV.

Il settimo Cerchio (Inf. XIV, 8). . . . Tavola XXXVIII.
Corso de' Fiumi Infernali (Inf. XIV, 112) . „ XL.
Pianta dell'Inferno col viaggio di Dante fin al secondo Burrato (Inf. XIV, 124) . . „ XLI.
Gerione (Inf. XVI, 130; XVII, 10) . . . „ XLVII.
Le Borse degli Usurai (Inf. XVII, 55, 72). . „ XLVIII.
Li dieci dimoni . . . . . „ LXVI e LXVII.
Malebolge e Cocito (Inf. XVIII, 1; XXIV, 37) „ LXIX.
Lucifero (Inf. XXIV, 28) . . . . . „ CXI.

Mr. Kirkup has built up the Inferno according to the text of Dante, and at the same time has designed the figures effectively and with the talent of an able Artist *. Almost everything which can interest a Dantophilist is due to his erudite pencil.

Class II. Views of Cities, Towns, Castles and other Localities noticed in the Inferno.

These consist either of general views, or of views combined with special details, in which several plates relating to them are given in succession.

The general views are by Ziem, Lear, and others, a few by Mr. Kirkup, they have been engraven mostly by Finden and Lasinio.

Arbia, fiume K. (Inf. X, 86). . . . . Tav. XXXII.
Arezzo. (Inf. XXII, 4) . . . . . „ LXV.
Arles. (Aliscamps) (Inf. IX, 112) . . . . . „ XXXI.
Bologna. La Garisenda (Inf. XXXI, 136) . . „ XCVIII.
Campaldino. (Inf. XXII, 4—5) ** (Purg. V, 91) „ XCIII.
Cattolica, la. (Inf. XXVIII, 20) . . . . . „ LXXXVII.
Faenza. (Inf. XXXII, 122) . . . . . „ C.
Fano. (Inf. XXVIII, 76) . . . . . „ LXXXVI.

* Mr. Kirkup had in his early days been a distinguished pupil of the Royal Academy, and at the close of his studies would have received the gold medal had not the Academy withheld it that year from a motive of economy. In his own lucid style he states in a letter of March 18th. 1857 — "They refused the medal after making us paint for it because in their economy they saved it and £ 100, along with it, in order to spend it in a grand dinner to Canova! Poor Etty reminded me of it but a short time before his death. I was considered the victim, sure of the prize". Mr. Kirkup was the intimate friend and companion of a choice circle of painters whose equals we may never, perhaps, see again.

** Though *Campaldino* does not occur in the Inferno, yet allusions to the battle occur, and the locality is of classic importance in reference to various places and objects of interest in this part of the Casentino, especially *Romena* and its Castle.

Fiesole. (Inf. XVI, 61) . . . . . Tav. XLIV.
Firenze. (Inf. XV, 1) . . . . . „ LXXVII.
Il Battistero di S. Giovanni. (Inf. XIX, 13) . „ LIII.
Piazza de' Signori of 1498, representing the burning of Savonarola . . . . . „ LXXX.
Forli. (Inf. XXVII, 43) . . . . . „ LXXXIII.
Genova. (Inf. XXXIII, 151) . . . . . „ CX.
Lucca antica. . . . . . „ LXII.
— *moderna.* (Inf. XVIII, 122; XXXIII, 30) „ LXXII.
— *Santa Zita.* (Inf. XIX, 38) K. . . . . „ LXIII.
— *Il volto santo.* (Inf. XXI, 48) K. . . . . „ LXIV.
Magra. Foce della, (Inf. XXIV, 145) . . . „ LXXIV.
— *Val di,* (Inf. XXIV, 145) * . . . . . „ LXXV.
Mantova. (Inf. XX, 88) . . . . . „ LVIII.
Montaperti. K. (Inf. XXXII, 80) . . . . . „ XCIX.
Montereggioni. (Inf. XXXI, 58) . . . . . „ XCVII.
Montone. Caduta del, K. (Inf. XIV, 94) . . „ XLVI.
Padova. (Inf. XV, 7) ** . . . . . „ XLII.
Palestrina. (Inf. XXVII, 101) . . . . . „ LXXXIV.
Pesaro. (Inf. V, 106) † . . . . . „ XXV.
Peschiera. (Inf. XX, 70) . . . . . „ LXXVII.
Pisa. (Inf. XXXIII, 79) . . . . . „ CII.
Piazza de' Cavalieri in Pisa. . . . . . „ CIV.

There is no city in all Italy to which Dante has given a greater poetic notoriety than to Pisa. The episode of the count Ugolino della Gheradesca raises it to a preeminence, for evil or for good, above every other locality named in the Divina Commedia. The Poet's emphatic condemnation is as a charter of perpetual fame.

* In the same plate is a seal with the inscription *S. Moroelli Marchionis Malaspine.* There were three *Moroelli* of this family. One was the Marquis of Giovagallo, the famous captain of the Neri, whom Dante calls-*Vapor di Val di Magra;* the other was that *Moroello,* Marquis of Villafranca, who, with his brother *Corradino,* and his cousin *Franceschino di Mulazzo,* on October 6th. 1306, constituted Dante procuratore in the treaty of Peace between this family and the Bishop of Luni. The third, the son of the latter, was at this time an infant.

** Dante would seem to have been endowed at this period with a sort of ubiquity, for we find him at Padua in the same year residing in the contrada di San Lorenzo, and signing a document as witness: "*Fuit e testimoniis Dantino q. Allighierii de Florentia, et nunc stat Paduae in contrada Sancti Laurentii*". Album p. 115.

† This view of Pesaro was inserted from the belief that it was here, in 1258, that Francesca da Rimini was murdered by her infuriated husband. But Dr. Luigi Tonini has since demonstrated, on documentary evidence, that the tragical deed was perpetrated at Rimini, in 1285.

The motives which induced Dante thus to perpetuate the existence of Pisa in his immortal poem by the most harrowing description ever penned of an ideal scene of mortal woe, will, probably, never be known; but that there were special and personal motives for this cannot be doubted. Possibly they were of a political character. Pisa had deserved well of the Ghibellines. Here Dante's hero, Henry VII, had been received with honour and welcomed with gladness. From the 6th. of March 1312, to the 22nd. of April, the Emperor held at Pisa a brilliant court. After his coronation at Rome, and his unsuccessful attempt on Florence, he again held his court at Pisa from March to August 1313, and from this city issued his condemnation of the Florentines and of King Robert of Naples. He remained at Pisa till August 5th., when he set forth on his well devised southern campaign in alliance with Frederic of Sicily, who, on the same day, sailed with his galleys from Messina, and, landing in Calabria, took the city of Reggio. Thus Fortune seemed at length to smile upon the Emperor, but it was only a passing illusion. He had not been well during the last few days of his sojourn at Pisa, but would not on that account postpone his appointed departure in cooperation with King Frederic. In camp he became worse, and on the 24th. of August, St. Bartholomew's day, died at Bonconvento near Siena. The royal corpse was brought to Pisa, where, with great solemnity, it was interred in the Duomo. In the Campo Santo the sarcophagus still remains *dell' alto Arrigo*, whom Dante, above all others, desired to honour. (Pard. XXX, 133—8.)

Pisa, therefore, politically, deserved to be distinguished for the cordial support it had afforded to the Emperor, and for the warm welcome it had always given him; but the citizens, in suffering the Archbishop Ruggieri to gratify his vindictive malice, rendered themselves amenable to the just indignation of the Poet, and he has not spared them. The denunciations which follow this tragical scene show how deeply the diabolical deed had moved the soul of Dante Allighieri. There is but one other passage that can be named along with it — the exquisite episode of Francesca da Rimini. Tenderness and compassion are transparent throughout the domestic tale of conjugal revenge committed by a jealous and infuriated layman. Indignation and horror characterize the narrative of the atrocious act of political hatred perpetrated by a rabid ecclesiastic. The misfortunes of Francesca

reveal the emotions of a gentle and loving spirit. The crime of the archbishop shows the impression produced on a righteous soul by a violence against human nature. At Rimini we search in vain for the site of the fatal chamber where the cruel deed of blood was committed — time has removed all traces of the act. Not so at Pisa, there the locality of the horrible prison tower has never been lost sight of, though no portion of its walls now remain exposed. It stood in the Piazza de' Cavalieri, on the right hand of the arched passage which, by the *Via dell' Arcivescovado*, leads towards the Duomo. Cosimo I., in 1556, gave it to the fraternity of the knights of St. Stephen, and Vasari incorporated its remains in the Palazzo dell' Orologio. Fortunately Lord Vernon obtained at Pisa a drawing of the ruined tower in the Piazza as it existed at this period. It was of a square form, had two narrow roundheaded windows on the ground floor, which would seem to have been raised somewhat above the level of the street, and one very narrow window on the floor above; this would agree well enough with the

Breve pertugio dentro dalla muda;

and the arch of a doorway at the side partly buried by the soil would correspond with *l' uscio di sotto*, so that it may be considered very probable that Ugolino and his family were confined in the room on this floor. Whatever there might once have been over it had then been thrown down. The Piazza and the remains of the tower form the subject of Plate CIV. Lord Vernon was much attached to Pisa, as every literary man must be who has felt the soothing influence of its climate along with the genial tranquillity of its quiet life, and during a sojourn there gave commission to the architect Della Santa to examine the building into which the wall or walls of the tower had been incorporated and to make a report on them. These details form the subjects of Plate CIII, and consist of plans of the ground floor and of the first and second floors of the house together with an elevation and section. They confirm the situation of the tower as had previously been held, but give dimensions to it quite out of character with the representation of the ruin as it existed in the time of Cosimo I.

In the plan of Sig. Della Santa the front of the tower, which faced nearly North, is shown to have formed an angle of 15° with the square, and the portion incor-

porated in the front to have measured 27.474 feet to the centre of the side wall, its thickness at the angle being 6.223 feet. This is the greatest thickness shown on the plan. As the Via dell' Arcivescovado passes beneath the Palace the angle of the wall is splayed. The external line of the side wall measures 54.527 feet, and the return angle, forming the supposed wall of the tower behind, 22.978 feet. The side wall throughout is slightly thinned, nor is any portion of it equal in thickness to the front wall — the space within from front to back is divided into three unequal portions, of which the front one is the largest, but it is very doubtful if these divisional walls ever existed in the tower, or even mark the site of any that did; the three rooms thus formed are vaulted.

In 1865, through the kindness of the occupier Signor Bartoli, I was enabled to make a tracing of the original plan of this house, Palazzo Finnocchetti, together with that on the opposite side of the arched passage, and to inspect the premises. The dimensions on this plan are a trifle less than those on the plan of Sig. Della Santa, but the arrangement is the same, except that there is no back wall of the tower as marked on his plan, nor can I understand how the existence of such a wall could agree with the present arrangement. I saw none. On this plan the premises are prolonged in the line of the Via Martini.

On the basement story, in the pavement of the room beyond the stairs, a vaulted dungeon, or *cachot*, had been found concealed. It was entered by a circular aperture about 18 inches in diameter, just wide enough for a small ladder to be put down and a man to squeeze himself in. This was concealed by an inner and outer covering. The entrance after a little becomes square, and then opens into a vault nearly twelve feet each way, which was filled up with soil and rubbish to the springing of the arch, and might have been about six feet in depth. This may have been only a hiding place, but the careful way in which the entrance was concealed looked somewhat suspicious. The original tower, however, never extended so far as this.

Just beyond the side wall of the tower is a *pozzo* nearly forty feet deep, the situation of this is shown in Della Santa's plan, but no mention is made of it. It was the well within the tower, or attached to it, of which we read a notice in the Codice of the Divina Commedia at

Dresden, and was still visible when the drawing of the ruin was made *.

Pisa. Facciata sulla Piazza de' Cavalieri. in Pisa, con tre piante ed uno spaccato. (Inf. XXXIII, 22) . . . . . Tav. CIII.
Torre della Fame. K. . . . . „ CV.
Il fonte battesimale di Pisa. . . . . . „ LIV.
Monumento di Arrigo VII, nel Campo santo. „ XIX.
Porto Pisano. . . . . . „ CVI. CVII. CVIII.
Pianta dell' antico Porto Pisano. . . . „ CIX.
Pistoia. (Inf. XXIV, 143) . . . . . „ LXXI.
Il fonte battesimale di Pistoia. . . . . . „ LV — LVI.
Porta della Sagrestia de' Belli Arredi. (Inf. XXIV, 137) . . . . . „ LXX.
Piazza di Pistoia. . . . . . „ LXXIII.
Prato, il Duomo di Prato. (Inf. XXVI, 3) . . „ LXXXI.
Ravenna. (Inf. V, 97) . . . . . „ XXIX.
Rimini. (Inf. XXVIII, 86) . . . . . „ LXXXVIII.
Roma. Prospetto di Roma Antica (secolo XV) (Inf. II, 19) . . . . . „ XX.
Il Ponte Santangello. (Inf. XVIII, 28) . . . „ L.
La Basilica Vaticana. (Inf. XVIII, 32) . . „ LI.
Prospetto dell' Antica Basilica. . . . . . „ LII.
Il Monte Avertino. (Inf. XVI, 25) . . . . „ LXXVI.
La Pina di S. Pietro. (Inf. XXXI, 58) . . „ XCVII.
Romena. (Inf. XXX, 73) . . . . . „ XCI.
Il Castello di Romena. . . . . . „ XCII.
Fontebranda a Romena. (Inf. XXX, 76) . . „ XCV. XCVI.
Siena. Piazza del Campo nel 1300. (Inf. XXIX, 121) . . . . . „ LXXXIX.
Il Duomo. . . . . . „ XC.
Fontebranda di Siena. (Inf. XXX, 76). . . „ XCV. XCVI.
Lo Slavino di Marco. K. (Inf. XII, 4) . . „ XXXVI.
Tagliacozzo. (Inf. XXVIII, 17) . . . . . „ LXXXV.
Venezia. Iconographia Urbis Venetiarum. . . „ LIX.
L'Arsenale di Venezia. (Inf. XXI, 7) . . . „ LX.
Pianta dell' Arsenale. . . . . . „ LXI.
Verona.
Monumento di Cangrande della Scala. (Inf. I, 101) . . . . . „ XVII.
Il Ponte di Vitruvio a Verona. . . . . . „ XVIII.

* See "*Il Conte Ugolino e l'Arcivescovo Ruggieri* — A sketch from the Pisan Chronicles". Trübner, 1862.

Il Corso del Palio verde a Verona. (Inf. XV, 121) . . . . . Tav. XLV.
Viterbo. Il suo Duomo, e il Bulicame. (Inf. XII, 115; XIV, 79) . . . . . „ XXXIX.

Class III. Representations of Persons, real or mythological.

Alessandro Magno (Inf. XIV, 28); and *Chirone* the Centaur. (Inf. XII, 70) K. . . . . Tav. XXXVIII.
Aristotile, from the Spada palace Rome. (Inf. IV, 131) „ XXIII.
Giulio Cesare and *Augusto,* from two coins. (Inf. I, 70) . . . . . „ XV.
Marco Giunio Bruto (Inf. XXXIV, 65); *Dedalo* and *Icaro.* (Inf. XXIX, 116) . . . . „ CXII.
Virgilio, from a bust in the Capitol, and from a miniature in the Vatican. (Inf. I, 79) . „ XVI.
Caronte, from an ancient basso relievo. (Inf. III, 109) „ XXIII.
Lancilotto, Ginevra, e Galeotto, from a MS. *di Lancilotto del Lago* in the possession of Mr. Kirkup. K. (Inf. V, 127) . . . „ XXVI.
Federico II, from a miniature in the Vatican, also his head from an *Augustalis.* (Inf. X, 119) . . . . . „ XXXIV.
Guido Cavalcante, from an ideal portrait in the Ufizi, Florence. (Inf. X, 58) . . . „ XXXII—III.
Brunetto Latini, from an apocryphal portrait in the Ufizi — also his monument. (Inf. XV, 29) . . . . . „ XLIII.
Bonifacio VIII, from a fresco in S. Giovanni Laterano. (Inf. XIX, 13) . . . . . „ XLIX.
Supposed statue of Bonifazio from the Duomo at Florence. K. . . . . „ LII.
Ercole. (Inf. XXV, 31); *Diomede e Ulisse.* K. (Inf. XXVI, 55) . . . . . „ LXXXII.
Esopo, from the villa Albani in Rome. (Inf. XXIII, 4) „ LXVI.

Class IV. Classical and Mediaeval Objects alluded to.

La Lupa del Campidoglio. (Inf. I, 49) . . . Tav. XV.
Cerbero, from the Vatican. (Inf. VI, 13); and *La Fortuna.* (Inf. VII, 67) . . . . . „ XXVII.
Medusa, two heads, one from a Greek Gem, the other from a bronze. K. (Inf. IX, 52) . „ XXX.
Monumento di un Frate Gaudente. K. (Inf. XXIII, 103) . . . . . „ LXVIII.
Monumento di Guglielmo Berardi. K. . . . . „ XCIV.

Architettura Toscana del secolo XIV. . . . . Tav. LXXVIII.
Logge. "Fino a tutto il XIV secolo le logge furono come la sala di ragunata delle famiglie fiorentine". . . . . „ LXXIX.
Fiorini. K. (Inf. XXX, 89) . . . . . „ XCIV.
"Il primo Fiorino fu coniato nel 1252 d'oro puro". — "Le *tratte* de' fiorini fatte in vita di Dante si possono annoverare a circa 150. Ad ogni *tratta* la Zecca apponeva un segno diverso; circa il 1303 al segno si trova aggiunto anchè l'anno della *tratta*".

Class V. Other Illustrations.

La Francesca da Rimini posta in musica da Giovacchino Rossini. A.

In his address to the reader Lord Vernon has spoken of this short composition of Rossini in terms so characteristic of himself that I cannot better conclude this brief notice of his great work than by repeating them here. — "E qui convien ch'io parli di cosa che io considero di grande onore per me e di gran pregio per il mio Album. L'autore del Barbiere, del Mosè e del Guglielmo Tell, Giovacchino Rossini, si piacque per cortesia di ornarlo di un raggio della sua immaginativa, traducendo in note musicali la parte più movente del racconto della Francesca da Rimini". Posterity will pronounce the honour to have been conferred on the composer by the privilege thus afforded him of associating his name in this noble monument to the genius of the divine Allighieri.

Onorate l'altissimo Poeta!

DANTE ALLIGHIERI

AT VERONA

AND IN THE VAL LAGARINA.

DANTE AT VERONA.

The course of Dante's exile and subsequent history as related prophetically by Cacciaguida. The attempts of the Bianchi on Florence. The affair of Montaccianico. Dante's separation from his party. The Scaligeri of Verona. Dante's *primo refugio e primo ostello*. Can Bartolomeo. The imperial eagle added to the arms of the Scaligeri in 1311. Character of Alboino. The prophetic style of speaking as used by Cacciaguida. Can Grande il gran Lombardo. The corrupted reading of the Divina Commedia in reference to this subject, and its consequences. Rectification of the text by Monsignor Dionisi of Verona. Readings of the principal Codici in the Library of the British Museum. The statue of Dante at Verona.

In the seventeenth canto of the Paradiso, following, step by step, the narrative which Dante has given us of his exile, we may trace certain facts in a consecutive and chronological order. There is the edict of banishment and its first afflictions, separation from his home, his beloved wife and children:

> Tu lascerai ogni cosa diletta
> Più caramente: v. 55—6.

Next we have his numerous peregrinations and receptions in the houses of his friends; living for the time on their benevolence:

> Tu proverai sì come sa di sale
> Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
> Lo scendere e il salir per l'altrui scale.
> v. 58—60.

But more bitter than these is the misery of associating with such company as the worthless *Bianchi*, whose disgrace he shared. This is a heavier burden to bear than being without a home of his own, and living on the bounty of other people.

> E quel che più ti graverà le spalle
> Sarà la compagnia malvagia e scempia,
> Con la qual tu cadrai in questa valle;

Che tutta ingrata, tutta matta ed empia
Si farà contra te; ma poco appresso
Ella, non tu, n'avrà rossa la tempia. v. 61—66.

Of the Poet's utter contempt for the Bianchi we have a convincing proof in his indignant allusion to them in the third canto of the Inferno, where they are stigmatized as,

la setta dei cattivi,
A Dio spiacenti ed a' nemici sui.

It is admitted that the the first two years of Dante's exile were passed chiefly in different parts of Tuscany, assisting and aiding in the schemes of the Bianchi to effect their return to Florence. At Arezzo, in 1302, he was one of the councillors of this party, which persisted in an ill judged expedition to Florence in opposition to his prudent advice. This circumstance is alluded to in the following verses:

Di sua bestialitate il suo processo
Farà la pruova, sì ch'a te fia bello
Averti fatta parte per te stesso. v. 67—69.

Carlo Troya, in his "Veltro Allegorico" (p. 57), has on this passage remarked "Per questa sua temperanza gravissime ire dei Bianchi, non meno che contro Uguccione, si accesero contro il poeta: lunghi anni erano trapassati e rimemorava egli ancora fra le sue maggiori sventure di esser caduto nella valle dell' esilio in compagnia sì malvagia e dappoco; appellando matta ed empia ed ingrata quella gente, che altrove chiamò selvaggia". — "Dante adunque si tolse da essi, e partì per Verona; questo è ciò, ch'egli dice, l'aver fatto parte a se per se stesso; cercando il primo rifugio ed il primo ostello appo il gran Lombardo, Bartolomeo della Scala".

In the space of two years and a half from the date of Dante's first condemnation, the *Bianchi,* assisted by the Ghibellines, made two unsuccessful attempts at restoring themselves to Florence by force of arms. The first was in March 1303 under Scarpetta degli Ordelaffi da Forlì, which was ruined against the castle of Pulicciano near Borgo San Lorenzo, and is known as *la guerra del Mugello;* to this expedition Bartolomeo della Scala is said by the Veronese historians to have sent a small contingent at the request of Dante. The second attempt was made in July 1304, at the instigation of the papal legate, the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato; it was a secret reunion of all the *Bianchi,* and their Ghibelline friends, urged to make a sudden dash at Florence under very favourable circum-

stances, and with the apparent sanction, or approbation, of the Pope. The expedition was commanded by Baschiera della Tosa (Tosinghi), and would have been successful but for his bad generalship, and the blunders that were committed. It is known as the affair *alla Lastra* *, and Dante was by Pelli believed to have been present. The exiles gained a footing in the city, but, what by their own folly, the defection of their friends, and the panic that seized their ranks, they were driven out with disgrace and loss. This event happened on the festival of Santa Margherita, the 20th. of July 1304, a memorable day in the annals of Florence **.

It is not probable that Dante took part in this adventure, though he might have assisted in promoting it. He would seem to have cherished a poet's love for his *bello ovile*, which withheld him from raising personally his arm against it. He was not in the first expedition, and many years after, when the Emperor Henry VII., Dante's great hope, laid siege to Florence, though the Poet had urged him to do so, and upbraided his delay, yet he is believed, on good authority, not to have been in the imperial army at the time.

There is much difference of opinion among authors as to the precise period when Dante separated himself from the Bianchi, and made a party for himself. Carlo Troya understood him to mean before any attempt in arms had been made on Florence; Balbo after the first attempt, and Pelli after the second. But Dante was still acting with the exiles in the summer of 1306, when he took part in the assembly of the chiefs of the Bianchi and Ghibellines held in the church of San Gaudenzio in Mugello to organize a war on Florence from the castle of Montaccianico belonging to the Ubaldini. His name occurs along with Messeri Torrigiano and Vieri de' Cerchi, and fifteen other *capi*, assembled within this strong castle which for three months, from May to August 1306, the Florentines besieged in vain, and only obtained possession of it through the dissensions among the Ubaldini, when all within its walls were allowed to go forth free †. Between the summers of 1304 and 1306 there was time enough for Dante to have made his first sojourn at Verona.

* Alla Lastra di Mont' Ughi, two miles north of Florence.

** So Giovanni Villani and Ammirato; Balbo and others place it two days later.

† Balbo antedates this event by two years.

Girolamo dalla Corte, under 1306, states that Alboino della Scala having sent his brother Francesco with a force to assist the Bergomaschi, and being opposed by a greater force, returned to Verona without effecting anything, the troops at the prayer of Dante were sent to assist the *fuorusciti* of Florence, "di questi uno era il sopranominato Dante Alighieri, il quale essendo di molta accortezza e dottrina fu dal sig. Can Francesco in casa del quale era allogiato, molto onoratamente trattato ed accarezzato"*. The expedition here mentioned is believed by some to have been that of 1303; but it may be intended for the war on Florence from the castle of Montaccianico in the summer of 1306, in which Dante took a leading part. Girolamo dalla Corte is evidently speaking of something which occurred after the decease of Bartolomeo, and when Can Grande was no longer a child. It would seem also that the historian of Forlì, Flavio Biondo (Basle 1559), was also alluding to some later expedition than that of 1303, commanded by Scarpetta degli Ordelaffi, where he says — "Et Canis Grandis Scaliger, Veronæ tunc primum dominio potitus a predictis omnibus Forolivii agentibus, per Dantis legationem oratus, auxilia equitum peditumque concessit" (Dec. II, lib. IX, p. 337—8).

It is highly probable, before Dante separated himself from the Bianchi, that he had been more than once at the court of the Scaligeri, and may even have regarded Verona as his temporary home. Nor is it unlikely, before he finally broke with the Bianchi, that he may at times have stood aloof from their proceedings, and yet have returned again to take a leading part in their councils when circumstances rendered his assistance desirable. After 1306 however this connexion apparently ceased, and Dante no longer had any hand in their political schemes, nor took any interest in their affairs.

The Scaligeri were so called from one of their ancestors having, it is said, in the assault of a castle, been the first to place a scaling ladder against the walls; they had been honored citizens of Verona from the 11th. century. In 1260 Mastino della Scala, who had served under Eccelino, the tyrant of Padua, was chosen by the people to be Podestà. In 1262 he was made Capitano del Popolo for life, and from that time began the greatness of the family as lords of Verona.

* Girolamo dalla Corte *"Storia di Verona"*. Edit. Venezia 1744.

Like other aspirants to supreme power Mastino was not scrupulous how he obtained it. Resolved to rule alone, in 1263—4, he expelled Lodovico di San Bonifazio, who stood in his way, and the Count's palace being pulled down the church of S. Anastasia was built on its ruins. In 1269 he took advantage of a popular tumult to get rid of the nobility. On October 17th. 1277 he was assassinated by four conspirators under the archway of the Piazza de' Signori, known as *il volto barbaro*. Mastino I. has the reputation of having been a popular and pacific prince, and ruled Verona for fifteen years. His brother Alberto avenged his death, took his place, and governed Verona for four and twenty years: he died of dropsy in 1301, leaving three sons, Bartolomeo, Alboino and Francesco.

His eldest son, Bartolomeo, was immediately confirmed by the people as perpetual lord of the city, but this perpetuity was limited by fate to three years, he died in March 1304; in the same month his brother, Alboino, was proclaimed captain general. Alboino was of an amiable and peaceful disposition, and feeling the want of that martial energy which the political circumstances of the time required in a ruler, at his particular request, his younger brother Francesco, better known as Can Grande, who possessed this quality in an eminent degree, was in 1308 joined with him in authority.

Dante has deemed only one temporary home deserving of mention in the Divina Commedia, and he introduces it immediately after the notice of his final separation from the Bianchi, as his *primo rifugio*, and *primo ostello*.

> Lo primo tuo rifugio e il primo ostello
> Sarà la cortesia del gran Lombardo,
> Che in su la scala porta il santo uccello. v. 70—3.

Rifugio and *ostello* are not synonymous, the former signifies a place of safety for a brief space, the latter a more permanent home. Cacciaguida uses *ostello* (Pard. XV. 132) to express the established domicile of a citizen of Florence in his own city — "a così dolce ostello". Verona, which afforded Dante both these advantages, was regarded by him as his chief place of refuge, and his principal home after he had been exiled from Florence, but it was not numerically his *first* place of refuge nor his *first* temporary home, for he had previously been at Arezzo

with Bossone da Gubbio, and at Forlì with Scarpetta degli Ordelaffi *. But who is this "gran Lombardo"

Che in su la scala porta il santo uccello?

Was he Bartolomeo, or Alboino, or Can Grande? In 1300 Alberto their Father was still living, but Dante has disposed of him elsewhere (Purg. XVIII., 121—6).

All the early commentators before Vellutello here declared for Bartolomeo, and some have supported him since. It is difficult to believe that Dante may not have visited Verona during the reign of Bartolomeo, though he did not take up his residence there till a later period **. Doubtless Dante would have been well received by him, Bartolomeo would have felt his court honored by the presence of the distinguished exile, and would have behaved towards him in a manner worthy of his own position though he did nothing more. But how about the imperial bird, the *santo uccello*, which so many Commentators have given to Bartolomeo on the supposed *ipse dixit* of the Master?

Can Bartolomeo is known to have been a wise and prudent prince, and desiring to retain the permanent position which his family by their popular election had attained, may, it has been conjectured, have set up the imperial symbol of power as a protection to their own, before the Scaligeri, as imperial vicars, were legally entitled to bear it.

But this is a mere hypothesis. Among the moderns, Lombardi had a dreamy sort of notion that an eagle had been borne by the Scaligeri on their family ladder before its official introduction.

Tommaseo, improving on the notion of Lombardi, has boldly asserted that it was so, and that Bartolomeo "aveva per insegna un'aquila sovra una scala, prima assai che Arrigo facesse Can Grande o Alboino vicarii dell'impero". Tommaseo does not tell us where he got this information

* Although no other passage occurs in the Divina Commedia in which *primo* is used for *principale*, yet an example is found in the Vita Nuova, where Dante, alluding to Guido Cavalcante, speaks of him as "*al mio primo amico*", he had previously noticed him as "*quegli cui io chiamo primo de' miei amici*". The repetition of the word *primo* shows also that the Poet meant something more by it than a mere numerical relation.

** In the Commentary ascribed to Pietro Allighieri we read on this passage, along with the prevalent notion about the eagle:

"Dicendo quod ibit ad illos de la Scala de Verona, dominante tunc domino Bartholomaeo de dicta domo, portante aquilam super scalam in armatura. Item dicit quod bonum est ut sibi provideat ab alio loco quam de Florentia". p. 668,

from; or whether it was only the nebulous notion of Lombardi transformed by his clearer vision into a spurious historical fact. It is true among the tombs of the Scaligeri at Verona, there is one which looks older than that of Alboino, and has an eagle on it, this tomb is by the custode assigned to Bartolomeo, but without any authority, and Litta ignores it.

When Henry VII. entered Italy in 1311, Can Grande went to meet him, and at Milan resigned Verona, and other cities which he ruled, into the hands of the Emperor, receiving them back again from him to be held as a perpetual imperial fief.

In the history of Verona written by Ludovico Moscardo, Patritio Veronese, 1668, under the years 1310—11, we read — "At this time the Emperor Henry VII. came into Italy and proceeded to Milan . . . not many days after his arrival, Can Grande with a numerous suite of nobles went to Milan to meet him, and there renounced into the Emperor's hands Verona and all the other cities which himself and his brother Alboino held. The Emperor was delighted, and thanked him for his zeal and loyalty, and a public registration was made of the act. The Veronesi, however, were greatly displeased at it, though they did not show their displeasure, but probably this was the original cause of the ruin of the family. The Emperor constituted Alboino and his brother Can Grande imperial Vicars of all the cities which they had renounced, and granted them back again to be held in *feudo perpetuo*". Can Grande remained at Milan during the stay of the Emperor, and accompanied him as far as Bologna, where he took leave of him and returned with an imperial commissioner to Verona. Here the same sort of ceremony was gone through to that performed at Milan; the commissioner representing the Emperor, and requiring the anziani and principal officials to take an oath of fidelity first to him, and then to Alboino and Can Grande, recognizing them in future as their true and legitimate lords; "at the same time he added to their family arms the imperial eagle". These things were done with great solemnity, the historian says, and from that time the two brothers, but more especially Can Grande, began to assume an air of considerable gravity. These pomps and vanities had less influence on the pious Alboino, who did not long live to enjoy the dignity thus conferred upon him. He died on the last day of November 1311, much to the grief of the people of Verona, who

with great pomp deposited his remains in Santa Maria Antica. Girolamo dalla Corte speaks well of him — "Era questo Signore Alboino della medesima natura, ch' era stato il Signor Bartolomeo suo fratello, quieto, pacifico, amorevole, senza alcuna esperienza d' armi, delle quale era capital nemico, ne poteva pur supportar di mirale: era giusto, amator dell' onor di Dio, del ben publico, e de' letterati: ed in somma era tutto piacevolezza, umanità, e bontà". This is scarcely such a character on which Dante would bestow the epithet of *grande*, though after 1308, when Can Francesco was associated with Alboino in the government, and even from 1306, when he had come to be a person of some importance, the words "con lui vedra colui" etc. would have had an appropriate application to this prince, on whose tomb at Verona we see the imperial bird in all its dignity perched on a diminutive ladder, and occupying two thirds of the shield; it is a very noble eagle indeed and wears a coronet. True, Can Grande had a better title to bear the "*segno del mondo*" on the scala, having been the means of locating it there, but judging from his tomb in Santa Maria Antica, he would seem to have cared more about his dogs than about the eagle, for on his monument these support the family ladder and we look in vain for the *santo uccello* *.

Between the weak minded Alboino and the energetic Dante there could have been no political sympathy, and no mutual attachment. An impression exists that the Poet was not on very cordial terms with him, and did not care to remain at his court. In the Convito, Trattato IV., cap. 16, p. 290 (Padova 1827), Alboino della

* The eagle on the tomb of Alboino is the Roman Eagle, not the double headed symbol of the German Empire. In the 13th. century the former was used by the Emperors, as we may see in the mutilated arms of Frederic II. in Westminster Abbey. Among the sketches which I made of arms at Verona in the autumn of 1869, is one where a Roman eagle is holding up the shield on which is a ladder with five rounds *(piuoli)*: the claws of the bird, its head, and portions of the wings, alone are seen. Supporters of this sort occur in the 13th. and 14th. centuries, and preceded the use of side supporters. In the arms of the Scaligeri, engraven in Lord Vernon's work, the ladder on the shield is supported by two dogs erect and collared *argent* on a field *gules;* above, on a chief *or*, is the double necked eagle of the German Empire displayed *proper*. These would seem to be comparatively modern arms, at least not earlier than the time of Can Grande, on whose monument the dogs also occur. The old commentators all describe the arms of the Scaligeri as a silver ladder, on a blood-red ground, surmounted by a black eagle.

Scala is spoken of somewhat contemptuously, as greatly inferior in nobility of character to Guido da Castello "il semplice Lombardo" (Purg. XVI., 125). When we take this passage in the Convito in connexion with that of the Purgatory where Alberto is alluded to, it is pretty obvious that Dante had some cause of complaint, either real or imaginary, both against the father and the son, but which ceased on the death of the latter, when Can Grande succeeded to his brother, and became sole ruler in Verona. The words,

A lui t'aspetta ed a' suoi benefici,

show that it was to him and to him only that Dante looked up.

Can Francesco certainly deserved the title of *il gran Lombardo* much more than either of his brothers did, and when Dante wrote this canto both of them were dead; why then, it may be asked, should Dante seek to diminish the sense of his obligations to Francesco by introducing some one else to share the honours of these verses with him?

In 1300, the period of the poem, as one of the Scaligeri is stated at that time to bear the eagle on the ladder, and as Alberto the father then ruled, the symbol of empire should, it has been said, grammatically and logically be referred to him rather than to any of his sons, and certainly not to the youngest of them, who was only then a lad of nine years of age. This objection would apply equally to all the Scaligeri before the last days of Alboino. But it is really no objection at all. The words of Cacciaguida,

Che 'n su la scala *porta* il santo uccello,

are spoken prophetically. The present tense is put for the future because Cacciaguida saw all things in God,

A cui tutti i tempi sono presenti.

The expression is similar to that which is used by Hugh Capet (Purg. XX., 85—93) where the fatal end of Bonifazio VIII, though future, is described as present:

Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso
E nel Vicario suo Cristo esser catto.

What was future to Dante was present to Cacciaguida, and therefore he consistently uses the present tense, which is a more vivid way of expressing a fact the certainty of which is beyond all doubt by its having already occurred. When Dante wrote this portion of his poem the

santo uccello had for several years been domiciled over the *scala*.

Between Dante Allighieri and Can Grande there was an intimate political and literary sympathy. To him Dante dedicated his most glorious production, the incomparable Paradise, with a learned epistle explanatory of the entire poem and forming its only introduction and key. This alone shows how the Poet appreciated the literary capacity of his friend. When a mere child, Can Grande had shown remarkable qualities, which Dante had observed with admiration from the earliest period that they had come under his notice, possibly in the time of his father Alberto, or certainly not later than that of his brother Bartolomeo. The young prince was born March 9th. 1291, the year in which the Poet married, and was probably only two or three years older than his eldest surviving son. When a resident at his court, Dante appears to have lived with him on terms of a pleasant familiarity not unmingled with a paternal regard, which could administer rebuke with repartee, when, in the convivial circle of the prince, a sharp retort was called forth by some practical joke permitted upon himself. All throughout the nineteen years of Dante's exile from Florence, he shows a more or less restless disposition, rarely remaining long in one place. Shut out by an iniquitous decree from the only home which he desired and loved, he could not take kindly to any other. In the early years of his exile we find him continually moving about, now the guest of one friend, now of another; at a later period when,

ciascun dovrebbe
Calar le vele e raccoglier le sarte,

as the voyage of life is drawing towards its close, this perpetually shifting the scene of his objective existence gave place to the desire for a permanent abode, and Verona became his settled home. That before he died he should leave the brilliant court of Can Grande and go and reside with Guido da Polenta at Ravenna, is no evidence of any disgust that Dante may have taken against Verona and its illustrious ruler, but simply that the Poet preferred a quiet and retired residence. His intimate literary connexion with Can Grande was kept up to the last. In life's pilgrimage the body needs a home no less than the soul, and, as the *"orlo della vita"* is approached, the conviction increases that there should be a *rifugio* and an *ostello* for both. In the last part of

Dante's exile it was Ravenna which afforded him a home, in the first part it had been Verona.

At the very commencement of the Divina Commedia we read of the mystical Veltro whom commentators, at one time, universally regarded as significant of Can Grande. Both before and after the advent of Henry VII., he was the individual on whom apparently the foreseeing eye of the Poet rested with a prophetic confidence, and the verses 76 to 93 of the seventeenth canto of the Paradise have always been connected with the verses 101 to 105 of the first canto of the Inferno. Possibly this circumstance may have led that preeminently distinguished Dantophilist, Monsignor Dionisi of Verona, to whom we are indebted for the *discovery* of the political sense of Dante's poem, to suspect that the Poet in recording *la cortesia del Gran Lombardo*, intended by that title to distinguish Can Grande alone.

Monsignor Dionisi was one who did not take things upon trust, he searched out the truth for himself, and examined manuscripts to ascertain what their readings were, and what it was most probable that Dante wrote. In the Edition of the text which he published in 1796, instead of the ordinary reading of the 76th. verse of this seventeenth canto, *con lui vedrai colui* etc. we have:

Colui vedrai, colui, ch'impresso fue
Nascendo sì da questa stella forte,
Che notabili fien l'opere sue.
Non se ne son le genti ancora accorte,
Per la novella età, chè pur nove anni
Son queste ruote intorno di lui torte. v. 76—81.

Fraticelli, from the commencement of his Dante labours, had been of opinion that *colui* and not *con lui* was here the proper reading, convinced by the reasons of Monsignor Dionisi, and the evidence of Codici; and in his edition of Venturi, Firenze 1837, he has given a *resume* of the argument, but with the ordinary text. In his later editions, however, the correct reading is introduced. It is singular that it should have been neglected so long, but not more so than that the political sense of the Divina Commedia should have remained hidden for nearly five hundred years until Monsignor Dionisi discovered it.

The reading *colui* occurs in the three best codici in the Library of the British Museum, and may even be regarded as the reading in six out of the twelve codici which contain this canto. It is found in Codice No. 943

of the Egerton series, known as the Codice Britannico; and in the Codice No. 19.587 of the general collection, which is the second of our two most approved and esteemed codici. In both of these the reading is identical:

Cholui vedrai cholui che impresso fue.

The reading of the codice No. 10.317 of the general collection, which, as regards the text, is inferior to none, is

Collui vedrai collui che impresso fue.

In these three codici there can be no mistake, notwithstanding that in the last the pronoun *colui* is written with two ll's.

In codici of the second half of the fourteenth century, and of the beginning of the fifteenth, it is not unusual to find this. In these there is no certainty that the preposition *con* is intended unless it be fully expressed according to the Dante usage. Thus in codice No. 943, verse 69, Canto XI of the Paradise,

Colui ch' a tutto il mondo fe paura,

is written

Chollui ch' a tutol mondo fe paura.

In another place, Paradise Canto XIV., 11, the verse,

Nè con la voce nè pensando ancora,

was first written without the preposition *con*, but with two ll's in the form *ne chollaboce*, which was regarded as a mistake and was corrected by the same hand at the same time, as the manuscript shows, into *chō laboce*. When therefore we meet with *chollui* or *collui*, and *cholui* or *colui*, in the same verse, it not only does not follow that *chollui* is meant for *con lui* according to modern usage, though not adopted in printed texts of the Divina Commedia, but it does follow that, with or without the double *l*, the pronoun alone is intended, and that unless the preposition *con*, or its equivalent *cō*, is found, we are not justified in assuming it. Possibly the compilers of the *Volgata*, gli accademici della Crusca, may have had some misgiving on this point, and so have printed the verse originally in a rather equivocal way. Hence in the other three codici alluded to in the Museum Library, codice No. 3459 of the Harleian series; the Antaldi codice, No. 22.780 of the general collection; and codice No. 2085 of the additional Egerton series, though we find in the two former "*Chollui vedrai cholui*", and in the latter "*Collui vedrai colui*", we are not therefore to conclude that

in these three the first form of the pronoun was intended for *con lui*, but judging from analogy, and from the usage of the time, that it was written for *colui* only; and therefore that the evidence of these three may be added to the evidence of the first three, though their testimony be not quite so satisfactory.

That the mistake of some early copyist of the poem, or of some obstinate grammarian, should have propagated a long race of erring editors and commentators, is remarkable, as also is it that the error should have been persisted in after Dionisi had shown historically that it was untenable. The circumstances recall to mind the honest protest of Vellutello on another matter, in which editors and commentators had combined to mislead the reader, of whom he indignantly says: "Sappiamo esser grandissima presuntione il voler alterar un testo, ma non minor ignorantia crediamo, che sia il voler perseverar in uno errore, e specialmente quando si conosce tanto manifesto, e chiaro, che non v' è contradittione, come di questo, e di molti altri si puo vedere" *.

But to return to Dante at Verona. It does not follow because it has been shown that by the "grand Lombardo" neither Bartolomeo nor Alboino were intended by the Poet, that he did not visit Verona during the period when they were respectively in power, for all the historical evidence which can be brought to bear on this subject would show that he did, and confirm the logical deductions from his own ample descriptions in the Inferno, Cantos XII. and XX., of localities in the neighbourhood. In the Piazza de' Signori at Verona, at the east side, on the site of the Palace built in 1272 by Mastino della Scala, the founder of the family supremacy, but of which nothing can now be identified, the whole edifice having been rebuilt and occupied as public offices, there is a marble tablet placed on which we read, and with explicit truth, that here the grandsons of Mastino,

BARTOLOMEO ALBOINO CANGRANDE
EBBERO LA GLORIA DI ACCOGLIERE
DANTE ALLIGHIERI.

* Vellutello on Inf. XX., 65 in reference to the reading *val di monica*. Edition of Sessa. 1564. See *Note* on the last page.

Dante at Verona would be incomplete without a few words on the admirable statue of the Poet by Ugo Zannoni, which the City, to her everlasting honour, has erected in the picturesque Piazza, the centre of her historical fame. It is, in the Author's opinion, the most pleasing, and the best situated of any in all Italy. Less colossal than the figure by the Cav. Pazzi in the square of Santa Croce at Florence, and without the indignant scowl, which would have been unsuited to his presence as a guest, it presents the Poet in a thoughtful attitude, with a thin careworn face having the physiognomy of Raphael's ideal portrait, but with a subdued expression of sorrow and suffering. Dante leans his chin on his right hand and arm, which rest on his left arm laid naturally across the body, and in his left hand he holds his immortal poem. The drapery is gathered up in a dignified fold to this side, and flows out gracefully behind. His left foot is advanced, and his forehead is covered by a cap not much unlike a small cappuccio, in such a way as to suggest a partial veil, which gives to his noble head an antique sacerdotal character distinctive of Italy's poetic highpriest. On the pedestal is the following inscription:

A
DANTE
LO · PRIMO · SUO · RIFUGIO
NELLE FESTE NEI VOTI
CONCORDE
OGNI TERRA ITALIANA
XIV . MAGGIO . MDCCCLXV
DC . SUO . NATALIZIO

DANTE IN THE VAL LAGARINA.

The court of the Scaligeri at Verona. Guglielmo di Castelbarco. Dante's *villegiatura* in the Val Lagarina. The Slavina di Marco. The Castle of Lizzana. *Benaco*, its boundaries and the source of its waters. Vellutello. Of the name *Pennino* and its popular use. Critical examination of the locality indicated by Dante where the bishops of Trent, Brescia, and Verona were each empowered to give the episcopal benediction.

Dante's stay at Verona before the completion of his Inferno was not a mere passing visit but a residence of some time, during which he had the opportunity of acquainting himself with the neighbouring districts of Val Lagarina, Roveredo, the Lago Benaco, Trent, and the Tyrol. Among the esteemed friends of the Scaligeri were the Counts of Castelbarco. Guglielmo di Castelbarco, lord of Lizzana, and of nearly all the valley of Lagaro, was the chief friend of Alberto della Scala, to whom Guglielmo was indebted for the title of Cavalier. In 1285 he was named podestà of Verona, was reelected in 1288, and again confirmed in that office in 1289. In 1300 Alberto appointed him his vicar in the vallies of the Giudicarie. In 1302 he was sent to Verona by the bishop of Trent, Filippo di Oprandino Bonacolsi, to negociate a peace with Bartolomeo della Scala, which he did most successfully. Girolamo dalla Corte thus relates the circumstance. "Alla fine il vescovo di Trento pentito di tanti turbamenti, che avea eccitati, mandò il signor Guglielmo da Castelbarco, suo favoritissimo, a Verona, con ampia autorità di far quello che più gli piacesse per accomodar con il sig. Bartolomeo le differenze loro, e stabilir la pace; la quale per la piacevole e cortese natura di questo signore fu conclusa . . . . del che grandi feste furono fatte" (Opera citata p. 76).

The regard entertained by Alberto della Scala for this courteous gentleman was continued and increased by the

high esteem in which he was held by his sons, especially by Alboino and Can Grande, who chose him for their councillor, and did nothing without previously taking his advice. He was also a generous benefactor to Verona. In 1307 he began to erect at his own expense, on the ruins of the palace of the Count di San Bonifazio, the magnificent church of S. Anastasia, with the convent at the side; and, in 1313, he undertook to rebuild the monastery of SS. Fermo e Rustico.

From his great friendship with the Scaligeri, being almost like one of themselves, it is probable that, when in Verona, Guglielmo da Castelbarco lived with them in their palace, and must there have seen Dante and made his acquaintance. There was much in the character of both to recommend them to each other, so that an intimacy thus formed could not fail of ripening into friendship, and the benevolent Castelbarco would naturally desire to extend his hospitality to the homeless exile, and to alleviate the hard conditions of his life by the cheering influence of a romantic country.

The Val Lagarina is the valley through which the Adige flows from Roveredo by Ala to Borghetto on its course to Verona, passing on its left bank the castle and pieve of Lizzana, Marco with its Slavina, Serravalle and St. Margarita; it is about fifteen Italian miles in length, and is separated from the Lago di Garda by Monte Baldo.

The tradition of Dante having resided here, combined with his accurate and masterly descriptions of localities in the neighbourhood, would render it morally certain that the courtesy of the chief friend of the Scaligeri was gratefully accepted by the Poet.

Ambrogio Franco Tridentino di Arco, who was born and flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century, in an unedited MS. entitled "*De Arcensis castri fondatione etc.*", after giving an account of the murder of Alberto bishop of Trent, states that Azzone di Castelbarco collected his troops to avenge the bishop's death *in locum apud Martii Pagum Dantis poetae celeberrimum etc.* * This however might only refer to the description of the Sla-

* See "*Lettera intorno alla dimora di Dante nel Trentino*", dal Cav. Gius. Valeriano Vanetti. "*Memorie antiche di Rovereto*" da Jacopo Tartarotti. "*Idea della Storia di Valle Lagarina*". da Baroni. Muratori "*Antiquit. Ital. Diss.* XIX." "*La dimora di Dante nel Castello di Lizzana*" dal Cav. Giuseppe Telani "*Il Monte caduto presso il villaggio di Marco*" dal Conte Benedetto Giovanelli. See also il Messaggiere di Roveredo for 1834, No. 63, 66, 69.

vina di Marco by Dante, but the local historians have regarded it as bearing on the tradition of Dante's visit to the Count Castelbarco. But before the time of Franco, a Carmelite monk left a manuscript chronicle describing various castles possessed by the family, in which he says of Lizzana — "Dante visse et dimorò per qualche spatio di tempo in la villa di Lizzana, qual è prossima alle ruine di Marco, et ivi aveva la sua inamorata, come ho udito per tradizione dalla bocca degli più vecchi del paese" *.

Raffaelle Zotti, the author of an article on this subject in the Messaggiere di Roveredo of July 18, 1864, and into whose hands some pages of this precious MS. happened to fall, thinks that the writer of the chronicle may have been the Padre Francesco da Trevigi who lived in the middle of the 16th. century. Il Pad. Benedetto Bonelli (*"Notizie storico-critiche della Chiesa di Trento"*. Trento 1762) alludes to Dante's sojourn at Lizzana as an established fact. But the best evidence of this is the description which he has given of the ruin itself.

About two miles from the town of Roveredo, on the post road to Verona, rises an abrupt and precipitous rock; on one side it seems to have been torn by violence from the adjoining limestone strata, on the opposite side, towards Roveredo, there is a gradual ascent. On the slope of this rock, high above the road, are a few courses of an old wall surrounded by trees, they are the last remaining vestiges of the once famous castle of Lizzana. When we ascend, passing through a pleasure garden to the highest point of the rock, the stupendous wreck of the mountain chain beyond, known as the Slavina di Marco, lies in all its awful grandeur at our feet, extending for miles along the valley down to the winding Adige. The massive limestone strata, inclined at a considerable

* The Canzone beginning *"Amor dacchè convien pur, ch'io mi doglia"*, in which the Poet refers to *"Amore, in mezzo l'alpi"*, has by some been supposed to relate to this vague notion, but it is obvious, from what follows, that the *alpi* here alluded to are those of the Casentino, and that Dante, addressing Amore, was then in the Valley of the Arno:

Nella valle del fiume
Lungo il qual sempre sopra me sei forte.

It is a curious circumstance, however, that there should actually be a river *Arno* not far off from here in the Tyrol, as we find laid down in the Austrian government map of 1851; it is a confluent of the river Sarca, and flows down the Val di Breguzzo to Bondo where it joins the latter. There is also a lateral valley which enters the V. di Breguzzo and is called *Val Darno* from a small mountain village, or castello, of that name.

angle, have slipped down from the highest ridge, undermined by the springs and rains penetrating their cracks and fissures, and washing away the fragile connecting bands of slender shale, and have spread themselves in vast heaps of blocks and shattered fragments over a wide extent. The scene is one of a natural ruin on so vast a scale that once beheld it can never be forgotton. Dante's artistic eye ranged over the wild scene of destruction, and he has preserved an accurate and graphic picture of it in the twelfth canto of the Inferno.

Qual è quella ruina, che nel fianco
Di qua da Trento l'Adice percosse,
O per tremuoto o per sostegno manco;
Che da cima del monte, onde si mosse,
Al piano è si la roccia discoscesa,
Ch'alcuna via darebbe a chi su fosse:
Cotal di quel burrato era la scesa. v. 4—10.

From no point of view does the Poet's description better suit the sublime and awful scene than from the summit of the castle rock. On approaching the village of Marco we pass between ruined masses of limestone, some of which are from fifteen to twenty feet square, but from no situation in the valley either here or nearer to Mori, is there any point of view so suggestive of Dante's description as the one from the summit of the rock on which the remains of the castle stand.

The chronicler of the Monastery of Fulda, and other early historians, assign the year 883 to the fall of the mountain *. — There have been many repetitions of it. Marianni, in his description of Trento, attributes the ruin to an earthquake which happened in the year 369. That there have been local convulsions of this mountain range in past times, and occasionally in recent ones, would seem to be beyond doubt, but water, and not fire, is the agent in producing them. Dante's scientific eye detected this, and the experience of the inhabitants confirmed it. The popular story that a city was here overwhelmed is, however, without foundation.

But the Poet has done more than describe the ruin, and explain its cause, he has added a corollary from his own experience, that, however difficult it might be to descend by such a pile of broken rock, yet it was still possible to do so, and he graphically depicts the movement of the fragments under his feet as he proceeded,

* "*Annali Fuldensi*". Tom. I., Germanicarum rerum Scriptores.

via giù per lo scarco
Di quelle pietre, che spesso moviensi
Sotto i miei piedi per lo nuovo carco. v. 28—30.

The castle of Lizzana is believed to date its origin from the days of the Romans, and to have been erected, probably, by the patrician family Licinia, which first gave name to it. In the time of the Lombards it was held by Ragilone di Lagara *. In 1014 the Emperor Henry II. was entertained here on his way back to Germany **. In the 12th. century the guelph Jacopino conte di Lizzana, and lord of Roveredo, resided here, he was overpowered by the Ghibellines, but subsequently returned to the castle and became Signor of all the valley of Lagaro. His only son Luigi died in his father's life time, and his daughter Sophia, his sole heir, brought in marriage to Castelbarco the castle, the county, and all the vast lordship of Lizzana. Here from the 12th. to the 15th. century the counts of Castelbarco held their brilliant courts. The Venetians in 1439 put an end to them, and to the castle at the same time. The republic occupied Roveredo, and, to obtain Lizzana, accused the Count, who then possessed it, of bad faith, a common trick of tyrants in all ages. To his meek remonstrance the Venetians replied with their artillery, *** and the venerable castle never recovered from the bombardment it then received. All that we see remaining of it is a portion of a wall about fifteen feet long by twelve feet high, and four or five feet thick, built in regular courses of rough masonry, and filled in with coarse mortar. It could once accommodate a garrison of five hundred men; now its defenders have dwindled down to two farm servants only. But the place when I visited it in the autumn of 1869, was still almost impregnable, for after having battered on the wooden gates with a heavy stone for nearly half an hour, I should have been forced to raise the siege, had not an active and obliging youth, who was tending sheep on the green hill side, volunteered to scale the outer wall and surprize the guards within, which he did, when one of them came and opened the gates. From the upper part of the rock, the slope of which is now laid out in terraces for the cultivation of the vine, we may yet trace

* Baroni — *"Idea della Storia di Valle Lagarina"*.
** Muratori — *"Antiquit. Ital." Diss. XX.*
*** Sanuto e Zagata *"Cronaca Veronese"*. pt. II., vol. I., p. 164 et seg.

the circular outline of the original walls. Besides the habitation for the two farm servants, a few rooms are set apart for the proprietor, who lives at Roveredo, and occasionally in summer comes here with his friends to dine. From Roveredo it is a pleasant walk to this interesting relic in the Val Lagarina. We follow the main road as far as the Madonna del Monte, and then take the path on the left hand, which skirts along the side of the hill, gradually ascending till we reach the ruin.

The first station on the railway from Roveredo to Verona is Mori, here, and in its neighbourhood, the heaps of ruined rock looking as if they had been shaken down, form vast hills of debris, and the line has been cut through what appear to be a series of ancient morains. Mori is the station for Riva whence the drive down to the lake of Garda is romantic in the extreme. Mountains and their ruins lie heaped up on each side as if the rocks had here been thrown about in some wild sport of Titans, or great Jove, in wrath, had hurled them at their heads.

Dante has immortalized the Lago di Garda, and no lake in all Italy better deserved this honour.

Suso in Italia bella giace un laco,
Appiè dell'alpe, che serra Lamagna,
Sopra Tirali, ed ha nome Benaco.
Per mille fonti, credo, e più si bagna,
Tra Garda, e Val di Monica, Pennino,
Dell'acqua, che nel detto lago stagna.
Luogo è nel mezzo là, dove 'l Trentino
Pastore, e quel di Brescia, e 'l Veronese
Segnar poria, se fesse quel cammino.
Canto XX., v. 61—9. *(Dionisi.)*

The Poet here shows that he was well acquainted with the physical geography of the Lake, and its surroundings; and having given, in few words, an accurate description of its position and formation, proceeds to indicate a locality within its waters where the three bishops of the adjoining districts Trent, Brescia, and Verona might equally exercise their functions, by giving an episcopal blessing, if they passed that way. *Suso* has reference to the upper world,

Nell' aer dolce, che dal sol s'allegra;

Virgil and Dante being then in the lower regions groping their way along by the lurid glare of the infernal bolge. The Alps indicated are the Rhaetic portion of

that vast mountain barrier, the natural boundary of Italy to the West, the North, and the East, which, rising up at Turbia from the Ligurian Sea, sweeps all round the frontier under the various local names of the Cottian, the Pennine, the Rhaetic and the Julian Alps, and then, descending southward to Aquileia, includes Istria as far as the gulph of Quarnaro,

Che Italia chiude e suoi termini bagnia.

Dante calls this protecting chain of natural barriers against invading hosts, and which to Italy are the sources, of her great fertilizing rivers and of her most lovely lakes, simply *Le Alpe*, and, in reference to Benaco, *le alpe*

che serra Lamagna
Sopra Tirali,

at the feet of which Benaco lies. In one sense these Alps are a long way off, beyond the Trentino, and beyond the territory then held by the Counts of Tyrol near Meran, where their ancient castle (Schloss Tyrol) raised on an old morain, or a lofty heap of water-worn debris, in which small boulders of granite and porphyry are imbedded in gravel, sand, and loam, still attests their former rule; but a section of the country from the summit of these Alps to the surface of the lake would show that there is more or less of a general slope, as is demonstrated by the course of the rivers Oglio, Sarca and the Adige. No mention is made of a country called Tyrol till long after the time of Dante. Meran, in the middle ages, and even later, was considered to be in Italy. Blondo Flavio in his "*Italia illustrata*", (Verona 1482), after having mentioned Lizzana, Roveredo, and other places, says — "e sopra vi ha Merano, città popolata, la quale avvegnachè situata in Italia, pel linguaggio, pei costumi della sua gente è tedesca piuttostoche italica".

There has been much difference of opinion as to the correct reading of verse 65. Numerous versions of it are found in codici. Garda, once the chief town on the lake, and from which its modern name is derived, marks its Eastern border, below which the hills on this side gradually sink down into the plain. On the opposite shore is Salò, and not far from here is a locality known as the *val di Monica*, a small valley connected with the Val Tenesi.

Though the waters of the Lake are in part furnished by a thousand rills and torrents, yet the chief confluents are a few rivers on the north and western shores. Of

these rivers the Sarca which enters the basin of Benaco between the romantic little town of Torbole, at the north-eastern angle of the lake, and the fashionable Riva at the north-western angle, is the most important. The Sarca is an extremely tortuous river, it rises far off in the mountains to the North and North-west of the glacier Vedret di Nodis *, near which several small mountain lakes serve as feeders, and rushing down the Val di Rendena, at Trione is joined by a tributary stream, the Arno, that rises in the mountains to the west, outliers, possibly, of the Pennine chain, and flows down the Val di Breguzzo to Bondo, and then, folding on itself, arrives at Tione, where the united streams turning to the East and North-east, bend round the shoulder of Monte Casale, and enter the valley of the Sarca. Though the water of the Lake reaches it chiefly by the channels in its upper and western shores above Salò, yet a small stream enters the Lake between Salò and Desenzano, a town situated at its south-western angle, and not far from the village of Moniga, which gives name to the Val di Monica. All that mountainous district above Benaco, which furnishes from its drainage the waters of the Lago d'Iseo, the Lago d'Idro, and the Lago di Garda, as well as of the Rivers Adige, Brenta, and Piave, which discharge their contents into the Adriatic, is called in Italian maps the *Contrada Alpina*, and extends to the line which Dante has so well defined, *sopra Tirali*. The Lago d'Iseo is fed by the river Oglio, which collects all the water drainage of the Val Camonica, some sixty miles off: the small lake, the Lago d'Idro, which lies between the former and the Lago di Garda, is fed chiefly by the Chiese, which has its source near the great Glacier between the head of the Val Camonica and the Val di Rendena, and flows down the Val Bona.

No portion whatever of the drainage of the Val Camonica could ever reach the basin of Benaco by any other means than the aerial process of evaporation and subsequent condensation; the Val Camonica is quite cut off from any terrestrial communication with the Lago Benaco. It is therefore presumable that Dante did not introduce this valley in his verse, and that instead of Val Camonica,

* At least so it would appear to do as shown on the large geological map of the Tyrol published by the Austrian government in 1851. In other maps of the Tyrol, to a smaller scale, it is shown to rise from the Vedret del Mandrio, as stated in my "Contributions to the Critical Study of the Divina Commedia". p. 142.

as in the majority of texts, we ought, with Benvenuto da Imola, Vellutello, and Dionisi, to read Val di Monica. Vellutello was not one of those timid *pecorelle* described by the Poet, who follow the leader without knowing why.

E ciò che fa la prima, e l'altre fanno,
Addossandosi a lei s'ella s'arresta,
Semplici e quete, e lo 'mperchè non sanno.

But he thought for himself, and did not stop short at old landmarks set up by an antiquated authority. Vellutello deprived Can Bartolomeo of the title which all previous commentators had assigned to him though he had no legal right to it; and he removed the Val Camonica from the received text of Dante because it had nothing to do with the Lago Benaco. He dared to brave the malice of the world by rejecting an ancient blunder incrusted with sacred rust *.

Vellutello's remark as to *pennino* is also very just. The Pennine Alps are not in this part of Northern Italy, they do not separate Italy from Germany, but from Switzerland. *Pennino*, as here used by Dante, is a local term only. Between Isera and Ravazzone, on the Monte Stivo, which separates the valley of the Adige from that of the Sarca, is a mount, which is to this day called *pennino* **. But Isera and Ravazzone are on the right bank of the Adige, and are connected by a road which runs parallel to the main road on the left bank from Roveredo to the bridge before reaching Mori; all the drainage of this valley flows into the Adige. The Pennino mentioned by Dante is not this, but the application of the name shows its popular use. Vellutello having given, in a general way, the length of the Lake, 36 miles, and its breadth, where greatest 16, where least 6, states, "Continua la sua lunghezza alle radici d'uno de' detti monti (sopra Tiralli) da quelli del paese nominato Pennino, ove sono bellissimi, ed amenissimi giardini di cedri, rigati da infiniti limpidissimi fonti, le cui acque, da Garda a Valdimonica, valle nel Bresciano, cadon e stagnan, nel detto lago". Vellutello would seem to allude here to the series of gardens which fringe the western border of the lake, raised tier on tier, with white brick piers and white bars laid lengthways over them, looking like rows on rows of

* In the remarks on this passage in my "Contributions" I then preferred the reading "Val Camonica", for the reasons assigned, but I have since more fully studied the locality.

** Or *little mountain*. See Raffaelle Zoti, *opera citata*.

dwarf crystal palaces, except that there is no glass in their construction. This side of the lake receives the morning and mid-day sun, and has a cheerful character contrasted with the rugged rocky border of the opposite shore. As Dante generalized the various ranges of the Alps under one common appellation *le alpe*, so here he has generalized the mountains around Benaco by the popular name *Pennino*. On the western shore of the lake between Salò and Gardone there is also a small mountain contrada called by the inhabitants of the Riviera *Pegnino* *. All these facts would tend to show the intimate personal acquaintance which Dante had with this locality.

But the question which more than any other has given rise to differences of opinion respecting the topographical indications of Dante, is that of the locality where the three bishops of Trent, Brescia, and Verona could each equally exercise their episcopal authority. All the old commentators appear to have been extremely ignorant of the geography of the Lago di Garda, and had only a vague notion that the place indicated was within the waters of the lake. Jacopo della Lana, Benvenuto da Imola, Buti, Landino, Daniello, and others, merely repeat what the Poet had said, that the place was somewhere "in mezzo del dicto lagho" — "In mezzo di questo lago sono i confini di Trento e di Brescia, e di Verona" (Ottimo). Landino, who here, as elsewhere, takes Buti for his guide, repeats what the former had said, "Dimostra che questo lagho è nel mezo di Trento, di Brescia, e di Verona, in forma che le diocesi cioè vescovadi di queste città arrivano a mezo ellagho et quivi confinano". Some modern commentators have revived this notion. Rossetti has the same sentence on it as Daniello (1568), "nel mezzo di questo (lago)". When the commentators, no longer content to look in the water for the place alluded to, sought for it on the dry land, they fell into great disorder. Vellutello was the first to attempt this, but here he failed. He supposed that it was at Termellon (Terminon), half way

* In the Paduan Edition of Lombardi there is a note on this subject by an intelligent observer, once the royal commissioner of the district of Salò, Giuseppe Zamara, in which he says "to the NW is situated il *Pennino* (Penino with one *n* only), a true appendix of the *Alpes Pœnae,* which begin at the mount called S. Bartolommeo, at the foot of which is Salò, and extend as far as Limone, that is all along the beautiful shore of the lake, bathed by a multitude of rivulets derived from perennial springs". And adds — "The chain of mountains from that of S. Bartolommeo to beyond Limone is named in the Geography of Tolomeo (Tav. VI. lib. 3) *Alpes Pœnae.*

between Peschiera at the south east corner of the lake, in the Veronese, and Riva at the north west corner, in the Trentino, "poco lontano da Malcesene", and just opposite to a small island, S. Giorgio, where, he says, "the dioceses of Trent and Brescia terminate, hence it is called Terminon, corrupted to Termellon, and as the lake itself is in the diocese of Verona, here all three dioceses meet together". But Malcesene, or rather Malcesine, at the foot of Monte Baldo, a place noted for occasional convulsions of the mountain, is on the eastern shore of the lake, and has nothing whatever to do with the diocese of Brescia on the opposite side. Had Vellutello named Tremosine (Tremosignum), which is almost vis-a-vis to Malcesine, and not far from the Campione, "forse in alcun vero" he might have hit the mark.

Leandro Alberti in his "Descrittione di Tutta Italia" (Venice 1588), having spoken of Tusculano and Gargnano on the western shore of the lake, alludes to the spring of cold water (la Fontana Frigella) which issues from the rock a little above the latter town, "beyond which, about five miles along the shore of the lake, we enter the *Prato della fame*, where, as it is said, three bishops, each standing in his own diocese, might touch each other's hands".

Poggiali, in his edition of Dante, here followed Alberti. "Il lago di Garda detto dai latini *Benacus* è il più grande di tutti i laghi d'Italia. Virgilio lib. II. Georg. v. 160, lo descrive come emulo al mare nei flutti. È situato tra i territori di Brescia, e di Verona, ed è di figura bislunga. Dalla parte del Bresciano confina colla sua sponda una contrada amena, fertile, e molto popolata, detta la Riviera di Salò da Salò ricca, e popolata Terra. In mezzo appunto a questa Riviera vicino al lago è un luogo detto oggidì il *Prato della fame*, 5 miglia discosto da Gargnano. Quivi confinono, o confinavano ai tempi di Dante, le tre Diocesi di Trento, di Brescia, e di Verona". Lombardi had been of the same opinion. In the map of the Lake sometimes found in the Latin poem on Benaco, entitled *"Georgii Jodoci Bergani Benacus"* (Verona 1546), the locality where the three dioceses meet together is placed at the mouth of the Campione, a few miles to the north of the *Prato della fame*, and is thus noticed on the map *"hic conterminant tres episcopatus"*. The padre Venturi, more than a century ago, to vary the site, placed it on the long narrow promontory of Sermione that projects midway into the lake at its southern extremity; but he had

few followers. The opinion which has been received with most favour since the publication of the Paduan edition of Lombardi is that the place was on the left bank of the Tignalga, south of the Campione, just where the little river enters the lake, and it was argued by its discoverer, Giovanni Milani, that as the left bank is in the diocese of Trent, the right in that of Brescia, and the lake itself in that of Verona, there must here be a spot, either dry-land or water, where the three dioceses come together, and the three bishops each standing in his own could shake hands with one another. Fraticelli subscribed to this, but Brunone Bianchi would not thus compromise his credit with posterity, he confessed his inability to decide between so many claimants, and left the controversy where he found it. All these speculations seem truly ridiculous.

Biagioli brings us back again to the lake itself with the remark "parla d'un tratto di terra che giace nel mezzo del detto Lago". This would point to the position of Sermione, and probably he had that narrow promontory in his mind when he wrote it; but it also suggests an island lying out midway in the lake.

The three dioceses have not always had the same extent, nor retained the same boundaries, neither have the provinces themselves. The lake and its borders have been differently divided among neighbouring rulers at different times according as the fortune of war, or other causes, gave them possession of the towns on its banks. Il Zotti quotes a document to show that the communities of Gargnano and Limone were at one period of the 13th. century subject to the bishop of Trent, along with Riva, which is so still; but at the beginning of the 14th. century all the towns on the lake, including Salò, which had rebelled, voluntarily returned to the authority of the Scaligeri of Verona. Maffei, "Verona Illustrata", says that in Pliny's time, as in his own, the whole of Benaco was in the Veronese. It is not thus shown in maps illustrative of the divisions of the country in the time of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, nor is it thus laid down in modern maps. A portion of the upper part of the lake is always shown to belong to the Trentino, but the boundary line across varies; the remainder is bisected by an imaginary line drawn from this either to the point of Sermione, as in the Hohenstaufen map, or to Peschiera, as in modern maps, the eastern portion of the lake being given to the Veronese, the western to the Bresciano. So that there is a point in the lake where the three pro-

vinces come together, and, supposing the dioceses to correspond, *un luogo nel mezzo*, where the respective bishops, each submerged in his own diocese, might give a benediction to the fishes. But this is not what Dante meant, his words have a meaning in reference to dry land in the midst of the water where each bishop had a canonical right to exercise his episcopal functions without inconvenience. Giuseppe Torelli of Verona was, I believe, the first to put his finger on the place, though his friend Antonio Cesari did not think fit to report the fact in his imaginary conversations where Torelli takes a part.

In the deep blue waters of Benaco between Salò and Garda on opposite shores, an island of some extent rises above the surface, the largest and farthest removed of a little group standing aloof from the busy haunts of men. Imagination had assigned to it the form of the cross; be that as it may, it was justly famed for the salubrity of the air, and the charms of its situation; here, disease and decay were believed to be unknown, and pious men might hope long to dwell in peace. In 1220 the good St. Francis visited the Island, and it pleased him well, and he obtained a conventual residence on it for a branch of his numerous family. It was the twenty-sixth convent which the Seraphic Father established. From that time the island became known as the *Isola de' Frati*. It is now called the Isola Lecchi, from the name of the count whose property it is. Here, as recorded by the Padre Gonzaga in his history of the order, was a chapel dedicated to S^{a}. Margherita, where the three bishops, of Trent, Brescia, and Verona, had equal jurisdiction and authority *. The

*) *De Origine Seraphicæ Religionis Franciscanæ*, etc. etc. *F. Francisci Gonzagæ eiusdem Religionis Ministri Generalis*, etc. etc. Romæ 1587. p. 496. The account which he gives is as follows.

De conventu S. Mariæ de Jesu Insulæ Gardæ. Conv. XXVI.

Antiquissimus profectò est hic conventus, B. Mariæ de Jesu dicatus, ac in insula Gardæ, quæ ex mediis undis lacus Benacensis surrigit, situs: cùm à beatissimo P. Francisco, prout ex quibusdam literis seraphici Doctoris, ac beati patris Bonaventuræ, quarum transumpta, et in huius loci, atque etiam in Brixiensis monasterii archiuis asseruantur, satis patet, occupatus fuerit. Ex præfatis literis, à quatuor etiam sibi succedentibus nostri Ordinis Generalis Ministris confirmatis, possunt huius monasterij fratres, et Mozambani, et per singula oppida, atque pagos Veronensis diœcesis, ad Benacensis tamen lacus ripas sitos, necessaria emendicare. Substitit olim in hac insula Garda, prout dirutæ ecclesiæ, prælatæ turres, ac antiquissimorum sepulchrorum vestigia commonstrant, pulcherrimum oppidum, quod tamen ob pyraticam artem, quam eius incolæ in transeuntes, ac convicinos populos exercebant, funditus fuit eversum. Existimarim

steamer, in its course from Salò to Desenzano, leaves it on the larboard side; it is a long fertile looking island, partly fringed with trees, rocky at one extremity and only just raised above the water at the other, with remains on it of palatial-like buildings of some extent. Dante's regard for S. Francis and his order is well known, and the fact of the Franciscans having here a home was not overlooked by him in his description of Benaco.

facilè hanc ædem, quam 20. fratres inhabitant, ex eius ruinis, accedentibus tamen piis convicinorum, tum pagorum, tum quoque oppidorum eleemosynis, constructam, qua nihil aliud habitationis in hac insula invenire licet: sed ea tota, quæ mille passus in orbem continet, fratribus paret. Facillimè tamen eam campis Elysiis comparaverim: Nam ibi, aëris temperie, atque salubritate illis maximè favente, nunquam homines senescunt, raroque infirmitatibus gravantur, imò potius vegeta semper ætate fruuntur. Hæc proceris ficuum, atque olivarum arboribus decoratur: Hæcque malis Punicis, malisque Medicis, atque citris maximè abundat. In eminentiori verò eius parte ædicula quædam, S. Margarete dicata, erecta adhuc perseverat, quæ tribus Episcopis, Tridentino scilicet, Brixiensi, atque Veronensi subest. Cui tantæ profunditatis aqua adhæret, ut nesciat demissus cum plumbo funis eius invenire finem. (The greatest depth of the lake is 600 mètres.) Ex altera verò eius parte horridam cavernam conspicere licet, quam, contemplationis vacandæ gratia, divus Bernardinus frequentare assueverat. Ad hanc etiam insulam, tanta est eius amœnitas, animi oblectandi, vel amissæ salutis recuperandæ gratia, plures heroës, æstivali præsertim tempore, se conferunt. Ac tandem hoc in ipso conventu, qui, ante S. Bernardini tempora, eremitorium beati Francisci de Gargano nuncupabatur, reverendissimus pariterque doctissimus P. F. Franciscus Lichettus, totius Minoritici Instituti Generalis Minister, 30. discipulorum, eoque amplius, gymnasium tenuit: quibus Metaphisicam, sacramque Theologiam, ex Scoto Doctore subtili, felicissimè perlegit. Quorum singuli vel lectores peritissimi, vel predicatores disertissimi evaserunt.

APPENDIX.

Note in reference to the reading *collui* of Cod. No. 10.317 del Museo Britannico p. 70.

Throughout this Codice *colui* is almost invariably written with two *ll's*. The exceptions to it are very few indeed, thus we have among many other instances —

Inf. III. 59. Vidi e conubbi lombra di *collui*.
- VII. 73. *collui* lo cui saper tutto trascende.
- XII. 32. che venesse *collui* che la gran preda.
- XIII. 58. Io son *collui* che tenni ambo le chiavi.
- XV. 112. *collui* potei che dal servo de servi.
- XXVI. 34. el qual *collui* chesse vengio colliorsi.
- XXIX. 29. sovra *collui* che già tenne altaforte.

Purg. VIII. 68. chettu dei a *collui* chessi nasconde.
- X. 94. *collui* che ma nō vide cosa nuova.
- XVI. 32. per tornar bella *accollui* chettifece.
- XIX. 41. come *collui* chella di pensier carca.

Pard. XIX. 40. poi comincio *collui* che volse il sexto.
- XXI. 50. nel vider di *collui* che tutto vede.
- XXII. 41. lo nome di *collui* chen terra adusse.

On the last leaf of the Codice is the following notice by Professor Ciampi.

"Questo codice del dante è scritto sul fine del secolo decimo quarto, o sul cominciare del secolo decimo quinto. L'ortografia è antica, e il dialetto e della vecchia lingua popolare fiorentina. Le note sono alcune relative alla parte istorica, altre alla spiagazione delle allegorie. Un carattere della antichità del codice è l'essere la pergamena riscritta; poichè nel secolo 15. inoltrato non si copiava più sopra pergamene vecchie, come è stato asservato dai conoscitori della bibliografia antica; poichè, inventatasi la stampa, i copisti de' codici procuravano di gareggiare nella nitidezza con le edizioni a stampa; e l'uso stesso della stampa rendeva meno necessaria l'economia della cartapecora".

Ciampi.

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek

MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Barlow, Henry Clark

On the Vernon Dante with other dissertations

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